Daily Report

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Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-242 *17 December 1991*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Kobets Interviewed on Nuclear Arms Control

PM1612165491 Paris LE MONDE in French
16 Dec 91 pp 1,3

[Jan Krauze report: "General Kobets' Surprising Serenity"]

[Text] Moscow—General Konstantin Kobets is not Russian defense minister for the very good reason that Russia does not yet officially have a defense ministry, but he suggested that that would not be long in coming. Meanwhile, this stocky 52-year old man is at the center of the decisions that have been made and still are being made regarding the future of the USSR armed forces.

In the past few days he has had a series of meetings with Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin. In the atmosphere of general confusion and amid the present turmoil, he seemed astonishingly calm, spoke clearly, and in his huge office in the Armed Forces General Staff Headquarters, he replied with surprising frankness to the questions everyone is asking: Who now controls the nuclear forces and who will control them in the future? How will the armed forces of the future "community of independent states" be organized? And is there the risk of a military putsch?

Of course, he also spoke about the future of Mr. Gorbachev, who might maintain his post as commander in chief "for two months." In his view, if not in reality, things seem well ordered, even if everything is far from settled and if problems arise unexpectedly, like the Ukrainian president's recent decision to take control of all the conventional forces situated on Ukrainian territory.

On the subject that strikes many people in the West as the essential issue—control of nuclear fire—Gen. Kobets clarified things: At present, he explained, this control is exercised by three people.

These three people are Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. Yeltsin, and Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Shaposhnikov. Were the observations of the British intelligence service, that the Russian president is now accompanied by "a man with a black bag," true? "Yes," Gen. Kobets said without hesitation, and this has been the case "since the August putsch attempt."

During the transitional period that is about to start, each of the presidents of republics where nuclear arms are deployed (in addition to Russia, these are Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan) will have the right to monitor the use of those weapons, but this will be a temporary responsibility because the desire of those countries to become nuclear-free states will be respected, as stated in the Minsk agreements.

Initially, "all the tactical nuclear weapons" located on these territories will be brought back to Russia. (It is these tactical weapons, presumed to be less closely monitored, that are arousing the most anxiety in Western general staffs, particularly if there are serious ethnic disturbances.) With regard to the strategic weapons deployed in these three republics, the launch installations will be destroyed "and the nuclear warheads brought to Russia."

The objective also is to destroy them, but Gen. Kobets stressed that no one yet has adequate technology to eliminate these warheads. "What we are able to do is reuse them" (for other weapons). That is why he stressed the need for international cooperation—and mentioned the idea of a four-party conference proposed by Mr. Mitterrand—and technical cooperation. The liquidation of these warheads "could take seven years" or perhaps less "according to the resources devoted to it."

Eventually, however, there is no possible doubt: All the nuclear weapons "will be exclusively in Russia's hands." "Russia will not give anyone the nuclear button" and therefore its president, as commander in chief, will have control over it, with Russia becoming the guarantor of the community's collective security; there is no other way."

That leaves the immediate future. Mr. Gorbachev could continue to exercise command of the Armed Forces (and hence of nuclear weapons) "for a few more months," "two months for instance," Gen. Kobets said. In this connection, he referred to the speech delivered by Boris Yeltsin to the Russian parliament, in which he said that the "state structures" remain in place for the time being. But he immediately admitted that "the only structure now remaining is the (Soviet—LE MONDE editor's note) president and the presidential apparatus." When his attention was drawn to Mr. Gorbachev's recent declarations—"they can sort out control over the nuclear buttons, but without me"—Gen. Kobets preferred to see it as a "flash of anger," an emotional outburst. But he did not rule out the possibility that Mr. Gorbachev could resign any day. "There are various possibilities," he explained calmly. "in that case, we will do the same thing, but more rapidly."

Moreover, he explained, "Mr. Gorbachev has lost control over the internal situation, he sees what is happening, but he does not understand the state of mind that now prevails in parliament." The idea that he tried to uphold in the past few days—that of "a compromise between the Minsk agreement and the Union treaty, is impossible."

The community which will be created will be equipped with "unified forces" and not "common forces which would be desirable but would not work." Supreme authority over the unified command will be exercised by the council of heads of state—Gen. Kobets took out of a cupboard the text of a "draft collective security treaty" drawn up the previous night. At the level below that, there will be a "committee of defense ministers" and in general an organization fairly similar to NATO.

Will the general staff be transferred to Minsk? "No," Gen. Kobets categorically replied. "Everything will remain here. We do not have the means of transferring our command centers; that would cost billions." Moreover, according to him, there will not really be much in

Minsk despite what the documents signed in Belarus seem to suggest. "There will be nothing but groups of experts...." And even for that modest role, the choice of Minsk could be called into question if the Central Asian states join the community. In short, the Belarussians should not have too many illusions.

Will the agreement setting up the new community be viable if President Kravchuk already seems to be departing from it, with his action on Thursday 12 December to take control of all troops placed on Ukrainian territory and also of the Black Sea fleet? "It was rather hasty," Gen. Kobets explained. Indeed, this decision is likely to arouse great anxiety among the many Russian officers in Ukraine (60 percent as against 40 percent of Ukrainians). But he added that a high-ranking military delegation has been urgently sent to Kiev to clarify matters and that some major points have been sorted out.

First, as regards the Navy: "Only the Black Sea coast protection units will come under Ukrainian control." The rest of what is called the Black Sea fleet, but which is deployed also in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic, will continue to be part of the "strategic forces." With regard to the ground troops in Ukraine, three categories must be distinguished: First, the units which will make up the Ukrainian army (when asked to estimate the size, Gen. Kobets mentioned the figure of 250,000 men while stressing that it is still the subject of negotiation). A plan approved Friday 13 December by the Ukrainian parliament uses the phrase "no more than 400,000 men"). Then there will be the strategic forces and those which will have the job of ensuring the protection of nuclear weapons during the transition period, and which will remain under central command. Finally, some of the forces—"a small proportion"—will be eliminated.

What will the strength of the Russian army be? "Everything will depend on the speed with which we find a solution for our soldiers. The social problems will have to be solved before the armed forces can be reformed." Gen. Kobets announced in passing that Russia has taken under its jurisdiction "the management of the Main Administration of Special Construction Work" and will use it entirely for the construction of housing for the military. "We must not take the risk of creating discontented people armed with guns," Gen. Kobets added. Of course, he does not believe in the fashionable hypothesis in the West of a military coup (Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Shaposhnikov 13 December ruled out "any possibility of a coup with the army's participation.") The "causes" of the launching of the August putsch "have been virtually eliminated," according to Gen. Kobets who organized the defense of the White House at the time. However, "we do not rule out the possibility that, under the pressure of economic problems, former party leaders might try to urge the people to insurrection. Measures have been taken to prevent that."

Gen. Kobets took another document out of his cupboard. It was a memorandum drafted that morning for Boris Yeltsin for the coming meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. It contained the principles that he had just explained to us, concerning in particular the current and future deployment of the nuclear forces, the command of the community's armed forces and a reaffirmation of pledges to honor all the USSR's obligations in the disarmament sphere. The document was drawn up in consultation with Marshal Shaposhnikov and the foreign minister. Which foreign minister—the Soviet or Russian foreign minister? The answer was categorical: "There is now only one foreign ministry (the Russian Foreign Ministry)." But what about Eduard Shevardnadze, who is supposed to be Mr. Baker's host? The answer to this was also unambiguous: "You have read President Yeltsin's decreee. There is no longer a Soviet foreign ministry."

Karpov Meets U.S. Nuclear Arms Experts

LD1612191291 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—Viktor Karpov, USSR deputy minister of external relations, received a group of American experts—participants in the International Seminar on Safe Storing and Technical Aspects of Utilizing Discarded Nuclear Weapons. In the course of the talks, the sides discussed practical issues dealing with ecologically safe methods of transporting, dismantling and liquidating nuclear warheads in line with the recent initiatives of U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Politsyn Interviewed on Global Stability

PM1312113191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Dec 91 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General A. Politsyn, chief of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Operational-Strategic Research Center, by correspondent Captain S. Sidorov; place and date not given: "Global Stability and Global Responsibility"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Maintaining strategic stability in a period of very rapid changes in our own country and the world as a whole is the duty first and foremost of those who have embodied that stability for decades—the United States and the former Soviet Union. The first meeting of its kind between specialists of the two countries devoted to questions of strategic stability was held recently in Washington. Our correspondent converses with a participant in that conference, Lieutenant General A. Politsyn, chief of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Operational-Strategic Research Center.

[Sidorov] The two sides plan that such meetings should become regular. The next one, in Moscow, is scheduled for this January. How useful are such contacts from the standpoint of specialists in the General Staff?

[Politsyn] The problem of strategic stability or, as people still say, global stability, has indeed assumed a high profile in recent years, seizing the minds of politicians, scientists, and the military. This is clearly an imperative of our times and is a product of the new political thinking. The start of consultations on this problem is therefore inevitable rather than fortuitous. And I think the range of participants will expand in future.

The participation of a representative of the General Staff in them is determined by the military factor's crucial influence on stability. Throughout preceding history, right up to the present day, two antitheses were manifest in the Armed Forces' purpose. For their own country and people they discharged the essential function of ensuring independence, security, and territorial integrity. At the same time, for other countries and peoples, the armies posed a threat which often did really destabilize the situation.

In the new conditions, where the ideologized image of the enemy is receding into the past, the possibility of resolving the aforementioned contradiction is emerging. A long and difficult road lies ahead before we can attain that goal. But the first step has already been taken!

Such meetings make it possible to ascertain and discuss the basic concerns, to ascertain positions better, and get to understand each other. It is then possible to start drawing up specific proposals to resolve the existing problems. I consider the mutual usefulness of such meetings to be obvious.

[Sidorov] Are the concepts of strategic stability identical on our side and the American side?

[Politsyn] The concept of strategic stability from the terminological standpoint has not been discussed as a separate issue. The crux of the matter does not reside in the identical definition of this category from the philosophical standpoint. Given specific national features and scientific approaches, they may not coincide. The crux is, and both sides understand this equally, that it is necessary to pinpoint and study those factors from among the diverse ones influencing stability which most influence it today and will do so tomorrow. Once those factors are defined, it will be possible to define ways and means capable of preventing confrontation and ensuring the peaceful development of events for the benefit of all the peoples.

Our General Staff understands strategic stability as a condition of interstate relations characterized by resistance to the effect of destabilizing factors. The American military also understand strategic stability as a state of relations between states where neither side aims to initiate an attack.

[Sidorov] The former Soviet Union could turn from a factor of stability in the cold war period into a source of conflicts in the postconfrontational era. Was it appropriate in such conditions to discuss "coordinated USSR-U.S. action to prevent crises in the world," as our and American news agencies reported? What was meant here?

[Politsyn] Yes, the Soviet Union's role now is not what it was 40 years ago, six years ago, or even yesterday. A lot has changed. The former Soviet Union now seems to many people in the world to be a powder keg on top of which are smoldering pieces of coal of varying intensity. The danger is still further aggravated by the fact that what the keg contains is far more deadly than gunpowder. Therefore for the West, the Soviet Union now represents the hottest of all the world's hots spots.

Coordinating action should, in my view, be conducted in two main areas.

First, given that the process of the Union's collapse could have global consequences, mutual consultation on the peaceful development of this process is simply essential.

Second, we do not live in a vacuum. We have comprehensive ties with all states in the world. And our peoples are far from indifferent to the fate of others. That is how we have been brought up historically. I do not think that we can isolate ourselves even with such a difficult internal situation. Concern for peace is the business of all the peoples.

The meeting in Washington which we are talking about took place before the latest events in our country, the proclamation of the creation of a commonwealth of independent states comprising Belarus, Russia, and the Ukraine. The leaders of those states have declared that single control over nuclear weapons and their proliferation will be ensured. However, there is still a lot that is unclear here. How, for example, will matters stand with strategic nuclear systems on the territory of Kazakhstan? Other serious questions also arise which are still in want of answer. That is why it is important, in my view, to stress that global stability demands global responsibility. This particularly applies to states which possess nuclear weapons or on whose territory such weapons are sited.

[Sidorov] My next question concerns the problem of maintaining the ABM system. Our partners in the United States, as you stressed earlier, appreciate that a sense of vulnerability felt by one side is a destabilizing factor. Nevertheless, the Americans are continuing to push their own line, seeking to create an ABM system that falls outside the framework of the 1972 treaty.

[Politsyn] Any ABM system has a dual character. On the one hand, it is impossible to deny its stabilizing significance as a defensive system. On the other hand, even a limited ABM system like the American GPALS [Global Protection Against Limited Strikes] system, which can destroy 180-200 warheads [boyevyye bloki], is capable in certain conditions of carrying out strategic tasks. Substantially reducing, say, the potential for a counterstrike on the United States. If the possibility of a counterstrike does not perform the role of a deterrent factor, then there can be no strategic stability either.

The more cooperation and trust there is, the less room for mutual misgivings there will be. We therefore consider the prospect of joint research on questions concerning the creation of ABM systems against individual, nonsanctioned, and provocative ballistic missile launches and limited strikes from third countries to be useful and justified.

Such conceptual research could, in my view, be conducted within the existing ABM Treaty.

We are also ready to discuss with the Americans the question of exchanging information between national missile early warning and space monitoring systems to exclude the possibility of the sides' wrongly evaluating the space-missile situation and making an inappopriate response to it. We are also ready to grant international status to national missile early warning systems facilities as systems ensuring strategic stability and security in the world.

[Sidorov] You are obviously duty-bound not to divulge in your answers the details of your conversations in Washington. But please say something about the main thing: What was the atmosphere of the meeting like?

[Politsyn] The atmosphere was frank and amicable. Neither side refused to give its viewpoint on the most complex problems. That no ready answers exist to many of these problems at present is another matter. However, there is time before the next meeting to discuss everything and work out our positions on the basis of the prevailing situation.

The constructive stance adopted by participants in the meeting made it possible not only to correctly identify the problems, but also to plan ways of examining them in future. This has made it possible to regard as successful the results of the first consultations on problems of strategic stability.

Office Denies Report on Nuclear Arms to Mafia

LD1612190191 Moscow TASS in English 1839 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—The main military procurator's office does not know about any facts of selling Soviet nuclear weapons to mafia. The procurator's office is not investigating any cases of the sort, said Colonel Anatoliy Korotkov, deputy head of the investigation department of the main military procurator's office.

Today's issue of the Italian LA STAMPA newspaper cited "a high- ranking representative of the Soviet Defence Ministry" as saying "there were cases in the Caucasus when units' commanders sold tactical nuclear weapons to bosses of the local mafia, who later transferred them to politicians".

At the same time, cases of seizure of fire arms and even armored materiel have been reported in the Trascaucasian Military District, Korotkov said.

In this connection, the main military procurator's office intends to call on Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov to take additional measures to provide for the safety of military weapons and material.

Worldwide Issues

International Reaction to Commonwealth Reported

92UF0338A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 91 p 4

[Reports by PRAVDA staff correspondents I. Latyshev, V. Peresada, V. Bolshakov, and A. Krushinskiy for 10 December: "Fundamental Changes Are Taking Place: World Reaction to the Events in Our Country"]

[Text] **Tokyo**

Japanese commentators agree, in particular, on the fact that the federation of Soviet republics that formerly constituted the Soviet Union for all practical purposes has ceased to exist from now on. "Three Slavic republics," says the editorial in THE JAPAN TIMES, "have already crossed the Rubicon, and the days of the existence of the Soviet Union as the empire it had once been are counted. Any attempts to pressure the three leaders by force to revoke the decision to form a commonwealth of independent states will only increase their antipathy towards the central Soviet Government. That which Mr. Gorbachev is desperately fighting today is in essence the inevitable result of the storm he brought upon himself." SANKEI SHIMBUN sees some similarity between the course taken by the leaders of the three Slavic republics and the ideas of writer Solzhenitsyn, who a year ago advocated a close unity of the three peoples that in ancient times had been called by one word—Rus.

In its editorial, ASAHI writes with concern about a possibility of emerging military clashes between individual republics that formerly constituted the Union.

Maastricht

As was noted at the evening news conference, for the members of the European Economic Community [EEC] the statement of the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus on terminating the existence of the USSR and creating a Commonwealth of Independent States had the "effect of a volcanic eruption." Numerous meetings for the purpose of working out an appropriate position for the EEC took place within the conference framework.

Following the meeting between the French president and the British prime minister, it was announced that France, Britain, and the United States intend to intensify consultations on the topic of greatest concern—the fate of nuclear weapons in the former USSR. The conference, "worried about Ukraine turning into the world's third nuclear great power, decided to urgently send its representative—Dutch Ambassador K. Krener—to Kiev,

while British Diplomat L. Appelyard will undertake a mission to Moscow, Kiev, and Minsk.

The task of the EEC envoys is to find out how control over nuclear weapons will be implemented under the new conditions, and how the three independent states intend to fulfill their international obligations previously undertaken by the Soviet Union—first and foremost within the framework of the CSCE process and disarmament treaties—and also in regard to paying external debts.

At the conference France proposed to its partners working out a common approach in regard to the recognition of, and establishing relations with, any new sovereign entity. In Paris' opinion, the mandatory criteria should be observance of the principles of a law- based state, respect for rights and freedoms—including those of minorities—and establishing borders through peaceful means, if necessary through international arbitrage. It has been announced that the majority of conference participants supported the French proposal.

Paris

In French newspapers today, every map of the new "Slavic Union" had our main nuclear bases indicated on it. Authors of analytical articles are speculating about what will happen if each president—of Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, and Kazakhstan, that is, those republics where nuclear weapons are primarily located—gets a duplicate key to the Soviet nuclear arsenal that until now had been in sole possession of the USSR president, that is, M. Gorbachev.

There is a visible inclination here to believe our "Cassandras" foretelling an inevitable coup in the USSR this December, or at the latest next January. They are also taking seriously M.S. Gorbachev's warnings that a civil war in the USSR would be far more horrible than in Yugoslavia, which he shared with French television viewers on 8 December on Ann Sinclair's popular program "Seven Days Out of Seven" produced by TF-1 Television Company.

Observer Michel Tatu in LE MONDE writes today in the article titled "Towards a New Putsch?": "We are seeing the forming of a new alliance between conservative generals of the precoup period, such as Gromov, and "Yeltsinist" generals—from Rutskoy to Grachev, including even defender of the 'White House' General Kobets...."

In Tatu's opinion, the Soviet Army is consolidating on the basis of the new discontent with the democrats and their reforms in the Army, including personnel changes such as the recent removal of General Lobov from the post of the chief of General Staff.

Besides a clear concern in regard to the disintegration of the USSR, which is quite explainable in view of disrupting the balance of the existing security system in Europe, as well as in the rest of the world, all these scenarios and forecasts also pursue another goal. It is preparing the Western public for massive pressure to be exerted by the West on the Soviet Union. This already is barely being concealed here. The only remaining question is what form this pressure will take. Warning against this HUMANITE, the newspaper of French Communists, writes in its editorial: "The development of events in the former USSR today is fraught with dangers. This is not the time to pour oil on the flame or interfere in affairs that are so complex and unpredictable. The most sensible thing to do at this point is to hope that common sense will prevail in whatever happens there."

Prague

"According to the Brest Agreement, the USSR Is Already the Past," "The End of a Giant!" "Divided 'Indivisible Union'"—the style of these headlines by itself suggests that some Czechoslovak mass media perceives the latest events in our country with a certain gloating. In a television interview, Deputy Foreign Minister V. Paloush equated the disintegration of the USSR with the fall of the Roman Empire. The first "obituary" commentaries do express a concern, however, in respect to destabilization and the threat of chaos east of the Czechoslovak border, and the possibility of the Soviet missile and nuclear arsenal slipping from under control, which may also mean a threat to the CSFR.

"If it is confirmed that by this time an agreement has been reached between Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia, the CSFR will initiate the process of establishing relations with them," says E. Lansky, the CSFR Foreign Ministry's press liaison. "Reappraisal of the policy regarding the no longer existing USSR in this case would also involve the already initialed CSFR-USSR agreement, which President Havel and President Gorbachev were expected to sign in December.

IN THE 11TH HOUR

When this issue was ready to go, the editors continued to receive reports from our staff correspondents abroad on the international reaction to the events taking place in the country. In particular, V. Drobnov reported this from Washington: "Appearing in a popular CBS program, U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker expressed concerns that an accelerated disintegration of the Soviet Union may lead to a situation similar to the Yugoslavian one. With the only difference being that nuclear weapons may get dragged into the fires of a civil war." Ye. Grigoryev from Bonn emphasizes: "If one is to summarize the comments in the local press regarding the decision by Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, most visible is a funereal note on the end of the Soviet Union." Read these reports in full, as well as our correspondents' reports from other countries in the world, in our next issues.

News Agencies React

PM1612165591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[A. Portanskiy report: "UPI: Wholly Natural Decision"]

[Text] The events which have taken place in Ashkhabad over the last two days have attracted just as much attention from the world community as has political life in Moscow.

What will follow the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States by the three Slavic republics? How are the former Union's Muslim republics reacting to it? Will the center undertake some actions of one kind or another to salvage the idea of a Union Treaty? Just lately these difficult questions have prompted a great deal of concern in many Western capitals, where people are waiting with apprehension and hope for signs of an improvement in our country's political situation. This is why on 13 December the world's largest telegraphic agencies responded instantaneously to the results of the meetings between the leaders of the five Central Asian republics.

The heads of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan have declared their readiness to join the Commonwealth of Independent States, thereby becoming co-founders of the new association. Judging by the reports which have come through, this major piece of news has already prompted a sigh of relief around the world.

Those who stressed the Commonwealth's "ethnic character"—allegedly pitting the three Slavic states against the other former Union republics, especially the Muslim republics—turned out to be wrong. UPI points out that in spite of speculation which emerged after the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States that the Central Asian Republics intended to set up their own commonwealth of Islamic states, these republics took the decision to join the Commonwealth of Independent States. The agency's short commentary goes on to say that all five Central Asian republics are closely linked economically with other former USSR regions, and for this reason their decision appears wholly natural.

It is known that there is particular concern in the West over the problem of access to the "nuclear button" in a collapsing Soviet Union. In this connection, AFP highlights an item in the joint declaration by the five Central Asian leaders on the advantages of ensuring a unified control over nuclear weapons and the joint command of strategic defense forces and naval forces.

The move by the Central Asian republics is a fresh blow to M. Gorbachev's position—this is the essence of a further conclusion drawn by Western observers on the results of the Ashkhabad meeting. In their reports from Moscow, REUTER and UPI stress that the decision by N. Nazarbayev—until now considered a key ally of Gorbachev—to join the Commonwealth of Independent States practically robs the USSR president of any final hopes for preserving a single, allied state. Continuing this line of thought, AFP states that the process of uniting former Union republics within the framework of signing the Union Treaty has entered an impasse. The Minsk initiative had a positive character. What is required now is a coordinated effort to set up a more extensive, friendly union of independent states: Moreover, this process must progress in conditions of guaranteed equal rights for all participants during the elaboration of decisions and the adoption of documents.

International reaction to the Ashkhabad meeting clearly shows that the will to bring about greater intimacy and cooperation among the former republics of the Soviet Union could become a leading factor in our country's domestic political process and open the way for greater stability, which is of interest to the whole world.

United States & Canada

Further on Secretary of State Baker's Visit

Gorbachev Comments Before Talks

LD1612210591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today, James Baker was received by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in the St. Catherine Hall in the Kremlin. Before the conversation started, answering questions from journalists, Mikhail Sergeyevich said:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] I think that the historic processes of the Soviet Union's transition into a different quantity are taking place. You see, all this is very serious both for our peoples and for such partners as the United States and for the Soviet Union. These two states bear enormous responsibility. And now when we have found ourselves in such a historical situation, I think the contacts that we maintain with the President and the secretary of state's visit here are natural. [end recording]

For his part, James Baker, secretary of state, stressed that the United States understands the importance of fundamental changes in the Soviet Union and its share of responsibility. He noted that the radical changes that have taken place in the world are inseparably linked with Mikhail Gorbachev's name.

During the conversation, a thorough exchange of views on the issues of the current state and further development of relations between the two countries took place.

Grachev Briefs on Meeting

LD1612182691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Andrey Surzhanskiy and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 16 December (TASS)—Issues linked to the situation on USSR territory after the signing of the agreement on setting up a Commonwealth of Independent States by the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus were the focus of attention during a two-hour conversation which took place in the Kremlin today

between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. He is in Moscow on a working visit.

Andrey Grachev, chief of the press service of the USSR president, reported after the meeting that "fundamental issues such as defense, strategic potential, and further coordination of foreign policy and economic cooperation" were examined. A package of issues pertaining to the country's international commitments and their fulfillment by the legal successors of the former Union was also discussed.

Mikhail Gorbachev, the press service chief said, "considers it a positive thing that the process of the discussion, formulation, and agreement on the structures of the future Commonwealth of Independent States is acquiring a broad framework and developing in a constitutional form." As a man invested with constitutional powers, the president sees his task in promoting to the maximum the constructive development of this process and the transformation of the future association of states "into a viable, effective organism which would remain a stable buttress of the new world order," Andrey Grachev said.

Ways of extending aid from the United States to the peoples of the former USSR were discussed at the meeting. In this connection the secretary of state mentioned the U.S. initiative for convening an international conference which would be able to discuss questions concerning the provision of humanitarian aid to the peoples of the USSR, Andrey Grachev said.

Answering a question from journalists about whether the issue of the role and place of Mikhail Gorbachev in the new structures had been raised at the meeting, Andrey Grachev replied that this question was not touched upon. "Judging by the reaction of James Baker, he considered that this is a matter that belongs to the internal competence of our country and the sovereign states," according to the presidential press service chief.

Further on Briefing

OW1612205291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] According to Andrey Grachev, chief of the USSR president's press service, the greater part of Mikhail Gorbachev's 2-hour meeting in Moscow Monday [16 December] with the US Secretary of State James Baker was devoted to the present situation in the Soviet Union. The parties discussed the forming of new state structures in the light of the accords reached in Belarus, the new Commonwealth's future defense policy, the observance of the international treaties and agreements concluded by the former Union, and urgent assistance to the sovereign republics on the territory of the ex-Soviet Union. The latter issue, Mr. Grachev said, had been discussed at length and had caused "vivid response on the part of Mr. Baker" who had observed that the problem could and must be dealt with by the concerted efforts of the international community—in a manner similar to the taking of the dangerous Gulf crisis under international control. [passage omitted]

Baker, Shaposhnikov Meet

LD1612195191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Report by correspondent V. Budnikov, from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Soviet Army always has been the main headache for the United States. If this formerly was the case solely because of its colossal might, it is also in our confused times, because of the instability expressed in the trend toward disintegration into a large number of small republican armies.

U.S. Secretary of State Baker met Air Force Marshal Shaposhnikov, minister of defense, this evening with a view to obtaining answers to a number of questions: How reliably is what is left of the central authority controlling the Army, particularly its strategic forces? Is the Army itself prepared to carry out these orders? And, what is the possibility of the Soviet Army being able to destabilize the political situation in the country and in the world?

Official on Shaposhnikov Talks

LD1612213891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1925 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Dec (TASS)—Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, met today with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. The conversation, which lasted for over an hour, was held behind closed doors. Lieutenant General Valeriy Manilov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Defense, who also took part in the conversation, told the TASS correspondent that the sides discussed issues linked to the prospects for the life and activities of the Armed Forces in the context of the new political situation, in connection with the setting up of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The USSR minister of defense assured his guest that all nuclear weapons—strategic and tactical—are under a single command and centralized control. The process of the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from the sovereign states to places of centralized storage and elimination is proceeding in accordance with plans and without any complications.

As far as conventional armed forces and armaments deployed on the territory of the sovereign states is concerned, because of certain nuances in the position of the Ukrainian leadership, a certain concern exists, which both sides voiced in the course of their conversation, General Manilov said. J. Baker said he hoped that as a result of the

negotiating process, in the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States, a compromise formula will be found to satisfy everyone, particularly as there are a large number of objective grounds for this: Above all, it is a question of the vitally important and economically desirable preservation of a single operational-strategic space, unified planning, and a single material and technical support system in the commonwealth framework. It is precisely in this direction that intensive work is now under way, Valeriy Manilov stressed.

Also discussed at the meeting were prospects for further mutual reductions of strategic offensive weapons, the development of bilateral cooperation in the exchange of technologies and experience of eliminating nuclear weapons, guarding strategic installations, and actions in emergency situations. A mutual willingness was expressed to embark on consultations on this range of issues.

According to General Manilov, the meeting was of a trustful and friendly nature.

[Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1900 GMT on 16 December, during its regularly scheduled "TV Inform" newscast, reports on the meeting between Shaposhnikov and Baker, saying Baker "was given assurances to the effect that the Soviet nuclear arms are under reliable control and that there is full concord on this problem between the republics having these kinds of weapons."]

Shevardnadze, Baker Hold Conference

LD1612232891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2230 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Igor Peskov, Andrey Surzhanskiy and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Dec (TASS)—It is necessary to coordinate our country's foreign policy, and it should be carried out in accordance with the principles of the new political way of thinking. As for the mechanism of its implementation, it must be determined during the transitional period. This was stated by Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of external relations, during a joint news conference with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. In the future, he continued, it is necessary to think about setting up some form of cordinating center or body, whose functions will include the coordinating of foreign political actions.

Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that the forthcoming Alma-Ata meeting of the presidents of sovereign states should determine largely which departments and structures are to be preserved, and this, no doubt, also will affect the Ministry of External Relations.

The news conference was held late today, immediately after a private conversation between the two ministers. With regard to the range of problems discussed during the meeting, Shevardnadze said, "It is easier to list the issues that were not discussed." Naturally, the situation in the Soviet Union, its consequences for politics, economics, and international affairs were at the center of attention. The development of the processes for a settlement in the Near East, the preparations for a Moscow conference of foreign affairs ministers of the member-states of the Madrid forum, the situation in Yugoslavia, the problem of human rights, and the rendering of humane aid to the USSR by the United States were discussed, among other international issues.

Asked what he thinks about the political future of Mikhail Gorbachev and of himself, Eduard Shevardnadze said that he "did not ask the president about this. Mikhail Gorbachev is my friend, although I have often criticized him. I was glad to return to the post of minister during the difficult times for him and for our country. One does not have to be a president or a minister to serve one's people honorably," he said.

Speaking at the news conference, Secretary of State James Baker noted the fruitfulness and usefulness of the 10-hour talks and meetings with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, USSR Minister of Defense Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, and Eduard Shevardnadze. In his opinion, they helped the American side to better understand the essence of the processes taking place in the Soviet Union. Speaking about the U.S. Administration's attitude toward recognition of the new sovereign republics, James Baker said that "the U.S. criteria in approaching this question are still based on respect for the free will of the people, observance of the norms of international law, and human rights."

Baker Leaves for Kyrgyzstan

LD1712082191 Moscow TASS in English 0809 GMT 17 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker left Moscow early on Tuesday [17 December] for the Central Asian republic of Kyrgyzstan. Baker completed the first round of his Moscow talks and went on a tour of former Soviet republics. After Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan, the U.S. secretary of state will visit Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus.

In Moscow he had talks with the Russian and Soviet presidents, the Soviet defence and foreign ministers.

Visit To Add to 'Sense of Grievance'

LD1612173691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by IZVESTIYA diplomatic correspondent M. Yusin: "James Baker Begins Trip From USSR To CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]"]

[Text] At 1000 hours on 16 December Russian President Boris Yeltsin received U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in the Kremlin's St. Catherine's Hall. "Note the

composition of the Russian delegation," the republic's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev had advised journalists the previous day. The meaning of these words became clear when Union Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov turned up together with Yeltsin to meet the Americans. The Russian president thereby showed Baker—and at the same time his opponents at home—who enjoys the support of the Army today, or at least that of its top leadership.

This hardly came as a revelation for the Americans. Last week James Baker had observed that the Soviet Union no longer exists and that the republic leaders are becoming Washington's main partners. This is also indicated by James Baker's itinerary: Moscow, Bishkek, Alma-Ata, Minsk, Kiev.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was upset by the secretary of state's words. In an interview for TIME magazine he expressed displeasure with the position adopted by Baker, who, he said, "is anticipating events too much."

The secretary of state's visit to Moscow will presumably add to Gorbachev's sense of grievance. Baker is giving clear priority to Russia and its leadership. Diplomatic protocol dispassionately reflects the change in the American approach. The secretary of state's first interlocutor on 15 December was Russian Minister Andrey Kozyrev. It was not until the evening that James Baker had an unofficial meeting with his old friend Eduard Shevardnadze, the Union minister of external relations.

This situation was repeated 16 December. Baker is not meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev until 1600, after the end of the talks with the Russian president.

As this issue of IZVESTIYA goes to press we do not yet know the results of Yeltsin's meeting with the secretary of state. It is known from what Baker szid that he was intending to devote the main attention at the talks to two questions: the domestic political situation in the former USSR, and control of Soviet nuclear weapons—the danger of these weapons finding their way to the Near East and other hot spots particularly worries the Americans. According to reports from the Russian Foreign Ministry, Boris Yeltsin is prepared to give Baker "firm guarantees that control of Soviet nuclear missiles is in safe hands."

Another topic broached at the Kremlin meeting arose unexpectedly on 16 December, during Baker's talks with Andrey Kozyrev. The Russian foreign minister put to the Americans the question of official recognition of the republic's independence. Baker, to all appearances, was not ready for this turn of events. "We will, of course, carefully study this statement, as well as the similar request from Ukraine," he told journalists after the meeting. According to the secretary of state, the United States does not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR, or rather the former USSR. President Bush, talking with journalists in the White House the same day, answered a question on the possibility of diplomatic recognition of Russia and the other republics even more evasively.

On 16 December, talks are planned for the secretary of state with Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, and then with Eduard Shevardnadze. That will be the end of the "Moscow stage" of James Baker's tour. On 17 December the secretary of state plans to visit Bishkek and Alma-Ata. The following day he visits Minsk and Kiev.

As our correspondent A. Shalnev reports from New York, the Americans, taking into account the scale of the crisis enveloping the former USSR, have agreed with all the republics that the secretary of state plans to visit that there will be sufficient fuel at the airports to refuel Baker's Boeing and the delegation's cars. Despite assurances from the republic authorities, the State Department has drawn up "contingency plans' in case of an unforeseen situation.

Report Views Baker Motivations

PM1712105991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 91 p 3

[A. Vasilyev report: "Moscow Has Changed and So Has Baker"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has come to Moscow once again. But Moscow is totally different now, new people rule there, and Baker is also different: His priorities have changed. Previously, when M. Gorbachev held firm positions in the Kremlin, official Washington was totally unable to decide on whom to bank—the center or the republics. Now everything is clear to U.S. President G. Bush and J. Baker. The latter, speaking recently at Princeton University, said: "The state created by Lenin and developed by Stalin had within it the preconditions for its own destruction. As a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union we are now living in a new world."

Of late, relations between M.S. Gorbachev and certain Western leaders have been reminiscent of relations between infatuated 17-year olds—unstable and uneven—where every glance, every word is taken into consideration and interpreted in millions of ways. It is most terrible if he (or she) does not telephone even if he (or she) has promised to do so.

French President F. Mitterrand did not telephone Gorbachev straight after the August putsch—a scandal that dealt a painful blow to Mitterrand in his own country. U.S. President G. Bush has not dialed Mikhail Sergeyevich's number over the last few days, since the Soviet Union was abolished in the Belovezhskaya Forest. An extremely unpleasant occurrence for Gorbachev, but it does however demonstrate the obvious: The United States has no friends, it only has political interests. Regrettably, President Gorbachev, President Bush's "best friend," realized that too late. Of course, foreign

guests will visit Mikhail Sergeyevich in the future, but at best they will be visits to an opposition leader and at worst courtesy calls, which is humiliating.

So, U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker is in Moscow. He is motivated, as always, by purely pragmatic interests: Who will control nuclear weapons in the Commonwealth's independent states and how? Who will implement the CFE Treaty and will it be implemented at all? After all, the view in the corridors of power in the "independents" is that they will still need weapons to defend their sovereignty against their immediate neighbors. Meanwhile Western states have already launched programs to cut their own armed forces. The third element of interest to Baker is the state of affairs in the human rights sphere in the Commonwealth's states. People in the White House reckon that the attitude toward national minorities is one of the criteria for civilized behavior. Admittedly, here too Washington hews to double standards depending on the nationality of the minority and the state in which it lives.

The United States has a powerful means for exerting pressure on the members of the community, which it has used on the Soviet Union: Linking economic aid with concessions in foreign, domestic, and military policy. It can be said with total certainty that the former republics will be even more tractable on these issues than the Gorbachev-Shevardnadze leadership was in the past. The center at least had memories of its former greatness and made poor attempts to save face. The members of the Commonwealth have nothing apart from their desire to be independent and their endeavor to become part of Western civilization.

Commentary Views Visit Significance

LD1612234191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] The current visit by the American Secretary of State James Baker to the Soviet Union is unusual in many ways. To begin with, the country with such a name, as he put it on the eve of his departure for Moscow, does no longer exist. Now here is a commentary prepared by our observer Viktor Yenikeyev:

[Yenikeyev] Mr. Baker ran down the ramp of his plane as relaxed as he had done before in Moscow; however, further developments have not been that customary: at first the Secretary of State has met his Russia's opposite number Andrey Kozyrev; then he has been received by the Russian President Boris Yeltsin accompanied by the USSR defense and interior ministers. Only then has his meeting with the country's President Mikhail Gorbachev taken place followed by the reception of Mr. Baker by the Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The breach of the diplomatic convention is a result of state restructuring under way rather than a consequence of chaos in the country. In fact this is the recognition of the new role that the republics will play in relations between states. This also indicates Washington's readiness to shift the accent in its relations with the former USSR on the republics. No wonder Mr. Baker's itinerary includes visits to Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus. The last three republics possess nuclear weapons and it's these arms that are bothering people everywhere now when the USSR is falling apart.

This subject has dominated his negotiations in Moscow with the leaders of Russia and the Union alike. Unlike in the past, (?cumulative) statements to the effect in Moscow alone are not enough. For this reason talks with the leaders of other republics will be held to similarly discuss cooperation matters in economy, trade, science and other fields. Mr. Baker's mission shows that bilateral relations between the USSR and the USA are unequivocally giving way to multilateral ties. This is a historic moment, and in this sense the visit by the American Secretary of State is a milestone ushering in a new stage in relations with sovereign countries within the framework of a Commonwealth of Independent States. Mr. Baker has been able to see again that there is no alternative to that, but there are many difficulties and uncertainties on this new road.

Maybe for this reason the secretary of state has looked in Moscow more serious than usual, possibly because he has realized that his relations with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze will no longer be the way they were. But Mr. Baker has many reasons to believe that Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev will prove not only (?good tennis) partners—the initiative they've assumed along with the leaders of other republics to build a Commonwealth shows that they mean business [words indistinct] that's respected both in Washington and in other Western capitals.

Cheney Cited on Political, Nuclear Issues

PM1612211691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Shalnev report under general heading "The World Sums Up the 'Gorbachev Era'; Washington and Paris Believe That the Soviet Union Is No More. Who Will Inherit Our Seat on the UN Security Council?": "R. Cheney: Democratically Elected Leaders Take Over the Baton"]

[Text] New York—According to Pentagon chief Richard Cheney, Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation from the post of president "will be of no significance" to the United States. Speaking on the NBC television program "Meet the Press," he said: "We have to deal with the reality. And the reality is determined mainly by the elected leaders—Yeltsin, Kravchuk, and others."

The defense secretary also said that he would not be surprised if Gorbachev has difficulty adapting to the new realities. But, we must recognize these realities, and one of them is that the old Soviet Union is dead.

The remark that the Soviet Union is dead is very important. It followed Gorbachev's sharp and—as one television commentator put it—"violent criticism," in an interview in TIME magazine, of Secretary of State James Baker, who stated last week that the USSR in the form in which we know it no longer exists.

As far as can be judged, Baker himself, on running into criticism, sought to justify himself by saying that his remark was taken out of context. Neither Cheney nor Larry Eagleburger, Baker's deputy, who spoke on ABC television 15 December, sought to justify themselves or to disavow the secretary of state. As Eagleburger said frankly, "The Soviet Union is no more.... Baker got everything right."

It is noteworthy, incidentally, that TIME magazine, printing its interview with Gorbachev, carried on the cover the headline "A Man Without a Country." Another detail observers are drawing attention to: Last week President George Bush talked with Boris Yeltsin on the telephone twice. And only once with Gorbachev.

"History," Richard Cheney went on, "will in all probability come to the opinion that right at the end of 1991 Gorbachev's role, a very substantial role, came to an end. Other democratically elected leaders took over the baton."

The Pentagon leader noted, however, that as of today the chain of nuclear command in the Soviet Union "goes from Gorbachev down to Shaposhnikov and the General Staff." At the same time Cheney expressed concern about the consequences that could result from the USSR's disintegration as far as nuclear arms are concerned. "It is only realistic to anticipate that one of the by-products of the breakup of the Soviet Union could be a proliferation of nuclear weapons."

Richard Cheney also voiced another concern—that the Soviet Armed Forces, worn down by the difficulties they are now facing, could become a "force for instability." True, the secretary noted that "despite suffering a shortage of food and housing and experiencing stress and declining morale," the Armed Forces "are still in better shape than all the other institutions."

Incidentally, Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, believes that it is in cooperation with the Soviet military that the program of emergency aid now being granted to us by the United States will be implemented. The senator, judging by his 15 December interview on CBS television, is referring to help with distributing the aid and delivering the goods to the localities.

Practically everyone in Washington agrees that this aspect of aid—its distribution—is the most difficult. You can, Richard Cheney said, "deliver any quantity of goods you like" to the Soviet Union, "but who will receive them, to whom will they be delivered, will they get into the right hands or end up on the black market—that is the question," and, the secretary went on, added to this are other questions, such as: "Does the Soviet Union have the fuel to refill the planes bringing goods, for the return journey?"

Ambassador Strauss Speaks on 'Bugging System'

PM1612152191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 91 Union Edition p 3

[Correspondent A. Blinov report: "Vadim Bakatin Hands Over Plans of Listening Devices to United States"]

[Text] Washington—The problem of bugs in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow is no longer a riddle for Washington.

U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Robert Strauss said in his speech at the National Press Club in Washington that the Soviet authorities have handed over details of the bugging system in the new U.S. Embassy building, which is why, as was previously reported, the building is still not being used by U.S. diplomats. (The U.S. press reports that U.S. security services have spent more money looking for bugs in this building than the building cost and Congress recently decided on a radical step—to build another embassy complex).

Before flying to Washington, R. Strauss was received by V. Bakatin, head of the Interrepublic Security Service [ISS], for a conversation during which the ambassador wanted to voice his ideas about stepping up civilian control over the Soviet security services.

However the conversation took an unexpected turn. "Mr. Ambassador," V. Bakatin said, "I want to give you something. I do not know how long I will remain in this post, but I want to give you something. I think that this will be of use and should be done."

With these words he drew a bulky file out of the safe and handed some plans to R. Strauss. "These are plans showing the mechanism for bugging your embassy, indicating the systems used," the ISS head said. "I want to give them to you so that you can hand them to your government."

V. Bakatin said that this gesture on his part was unconditional and did not envisage the need for reciprocity. "I hope that this will help you save some money and, possibly, enable you to use the embassy building in the future," he said.

Despite the Soviet security service leader's frankness, which staggered the U.S. ambassador, the latter responded evasively. R. Strauss said in particular that, if the new U.S. Embassy is used for its proper purpose, questions may be asked in the United States: What if only three-fourths of the data have been handed over, say, and one-fourth has been kept secret? "I do not know whether we will be able to use the building, but what has happened is the most staggering thing that has happened in my life," R. Strauss said.

Security Service Issues Statement

LD1612210791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1856 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 16 Dec (TASS)—In connection with the announcement by U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Mr. Robert Strauss that the Interrepublican Security Service [ISS] has handed over to the American side technical documentation relating to the use of bugging devices during the construction of the new U.S. Embassy in Moscow, the ISS regards it necessary to state the following:

The statement by U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Strauss corresponds to the facts. In 1969, the USSR leadership made the decision to install special equipment for collecting information in the new complex of U.S. Embassy buildings, something which was done in the course of the erection of these buildings in the 1976-82 period. Subsequently, in connection with the discovery of these devices, and the U.S. Government's protests, fitting the buildings with special equipment was halted, and the cables for linking the introduced devices with recording equipment were removed, which rendered the entire system of collecting information inoperable.

Until recently, however, the competent USSR bodies had denied the fact that special devices had been installed. The distrust that existed between our countries for many years was conducive to the adoption by the U.S. Congress of legislative decisions banning the commissioning of the new buildings of the embassies of the United States in Moscow and of the USSR in Washington. The U.S. Congress was forced to allocate appropriations of up to $300 million for rebuilding the virtually ready complex.

The qualitatively new level of relations between the two countries, based on mutual trust and openness that has been established of late, required an appropriate decision. On the initiative of ISS chief V. Bakatin in the course of negotiations with U.S. Ambassador Strauss, an accord was reached to hand over to the American side exhaustive information about the elements and the places where the special devices were deployed in the new U.S. Embassy building. This accord was agreed with the USSR and RSFSR presidents, and with the Union and Russian foreign ministries.

Such a decison fully rules out the need for huge and nonsensical expenditures by the American side on rebuilding the embassy building and takes into account that the spirit and prospects for our new relations may be met with understanding by the American people.

Changing Role Seen for U.S. Intelligence

PM1712130591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Dec 91 Union Edition p 5

[A. Anichkin report: "The CIA Is Trying Out the Role of Savior"]

[Text] It is strange that the Americans did not start earlier on a serious discussion of their special services' tasks in the period following the cold war—after all, the cold war came to an end following the meeting in Malta. It was only the swift disintegration of the USSR that forced the United States to think seriously about a new role for intelligence. President Bush, who was himself head of the CIA, issued a directive according to which a fundamental review of priorities and maybe of the whole philosophy of intelligence activity is to be concluded by 20 March next year.

The cold war is over, but intelligence will continue to focus on events in the USSR. However, the direction of this attention is changing. New CIA Director Robert Gates has devoted over 20 years to studying the Soviet Union; and, according to his former boss William Colby, it was this that taught him "to despise the Soviet system" (incidentally, you could argue about who despises our system more—our former cold war enemies, or ourselves). And possibly the fact that a tough and mistrustful critic such as Gates should be heading the CIA will work to the advantage of not just the United States, but also the former Union republics.

The U.S. intelligence departments have already reduced by 15-25 percent the resources devoted to analysis of the Soviet military threat. The threat is now seen elsewhere—in the degradation of the Soviet military machine. That is why at the hearings in the House of Representatives Armed Services Committee Gates has appealed to legislators to bide their time before reducing the military budget. According to the CIA director's data, the Soviet system of nuclear weapons control was developed to be relatively reliable, but it was wholly based on the complete authority of the centralized power. The center is now "evaporating before our very eyes," to use Gates' expression, and morale in the Army has fallen to its lowest point in 70 years. No bunkers, codes, or obstacles will help if the people responsible for it turn out to be corrupt or simply disappear, Gates said. A country can probably be "closed off" by decision of its institutions, but nuclear missiles are a rather more tangible thing, too tangible to be "closed off" as well.

In his first speech following his appointment, Gates referred to history. The collapse of empires has always entailed great dangers, he said. Gates sees the nuclear threat as the main one in the short term. Another danger is the possibility of a social explosion threatening to sweep away the barely started process of establishing a democratic regime on the territories of the former Union. To what extent is the chaos into which the country, with its many millions of inhabitants, is being plunged a threat to the rest of the world? You can imagine how many different replies an American intelligence agent would receive if he asked different people in different places in the former Union that question today. But these are questions which require a fairly precise answer. And Washington is expecting one, notably from its intelligence.

Judging by his utterances, Gates assesses the chance of the survival of democracy in the republics of the former USSR with extreme skepticism. He predicted a turn to the right and the revival and strengthening of totalitarianism even before the August putsch, and it seems that he cleaves to these views even now. At least in short-term assessments of the prospects for the development of events in our country. But the CIA director nevertheless has an optimistic view of the long-term chances of democratic development in Russia.

Robert Gates has said that, despite the dangers, the collapse of an empire also opens up unprecedented new opportunities. These are two separate sides to the same question, and possibly the main, fundamental question that the American analysts have to resolve is as follows: Should the United States assist in the transformation of the USSR and, if so, then in what way?

In a recent interview with NEWSWEEK former CIA Director William Colby expressed ideas that many people in the United States now share. This is what he says: "Our former cold war enemy lies in ruins—society has come apart, the economy is in a catastrophic situation, and the political system has disintegrated. Do we really have to let this continue and have all kinds of noxious things come out? Or is there a means whereby we can help them become a good member of the world community? We are slowly preparing to help them, but too slowly for my liking.... I would like our President to elaborate development programs in collaboration with with the Japanese and European leadership. When people say that there is no point in simply pouring money in there, they are sidetracking you from the fact that someone should be doing something all the same. It is certain that East Europe and the Soviet Union should resolve their own problems. But it is also certain that they need the firm hand of assistance and the certainty that, if they start restoring order in their countries, then we will be prepared to accommodate them. That is how we proceeded with the Marshall Plan, one of the great incentives for development in the postwar world. And that is what is needed now."

Colby says that his former subordinate is far more anti-Soviet than himself. And on the whole he cannot really handle the thought that the CIA, which for so many years worked to bring down the Soviet system, the selfsame CIA is now going to recommend methods to transform it. The world has turned upside down, and now maybe it will so happen that the main task of national security services, including the CIA, will be involved in that interest common to all mankind.

Near East & South Asia

Israel Desires 'Best Possible' Republic Ties

PM1512152991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 91 Union Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Tel Aviv Ready To Help"]

[Text] Netanyahu, the Israeli prime minister's aide, has stated: "Whatever fate the peoples of the Soviet Union choose, Israel wants to maintain the best possible relations with the new republics and the structures within which relations between them will be built. Our countries are close in the cultural sense and their political interests are moving closer or coinciding. For a long time this was denied, but it has begun to become obvious recently. We also have the potential for economic cooperation. Israel, which is near the Soviet Union, has technology and experience which could help the Soviet Union."

Afghan President Remarks on POWs, Relations

LD1612200591 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Gherman Baykov]

[Text] Kabul December 16 TASS—"Notwithstanding all the difficulties Afghanistan is encountering, we look into the future with optimism," President Najibollah has told a group of Soviet journalists.

"The history of relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan was based on the principles of mutual benefit, goodneighbourliness and friendship between our peoples. This applies to both the Soviet Union as a whole and the peoples of individual republics," the president pointed out.

Afghanistan has a rather large potential for developing and giving greater scope to cooperation in many fields through the agency of both state-run and governmental organisations and Afghan private entrepreneurs, he said.

The Afghan president assured that he would continue to do everything possible to promote the release of Soviet prisoners-of-war held captive by Afghan rebels.

Without cooperation with Kabul, it is impossile for the Soviet Union to resolve this problem because the rebels are inclined to bind two issues together—the release of Soviet and Afghan PoWs, he emphasised.

Najibollah said that, according to data available with him, the number of released Soviet prisoners-of-war would not, unfortunately, be large.

Touching upon the military and political situation in Afghanistan, the president said that, with the exception of some provinces in the country's south and south-east, the situation in the rest of the country remains stable, and all main thoroughfares function normally.

The cessation of the supply of arms to the warring sides in accordance with the joint statement issued by the Soviet Union and the United States in September this year should be accompanied by Pakistan's and Saudi Arabia's accession to this decision. Otherwise, it loses sense Najibollah said.

West Europe

Turkey To Recognize Independent Repubics

LD1712040791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] The Turkish Cabinet of Ministers has decided to recognize all former Soviet republics that have proclaimed independence. Consulates will be opened in the republics that are recognized, and in time they will be upgraded to diplomatic missions.

French President Summarizes Gorbachev Role

PM1712115091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent Yu. Kovalenko report under general heading "The World Sums Up the 'Gorbachev Era;' Washington and Paris Believe That the Soviet Union Is No More. Who Will Inherit Our Seat on the UN Security Council?": "F. Mitterrand: Our Policy Is Dictated Not by Sentiment, But by the New Realities"]

[Text] Paris—Last Saturday President F. Mitterrand called M. Gorbachev and had a long conversation with him. The following day, speaking on the popular TF-1 television program "Sept sur Sept," in which the USSR president coincidentally appeared exactly a week earlier, the French head of state summed up Mikhail Sergeyevich's achievements. Commentators believe that this part of his remarks sounded like a good-bye to the Soviet president, with whom he has had friendly relations over the last seven years and to whom he gave constant support.

I think Mikhail Gorbachev is one of the most important figures in the history of our century, F. Mitterrand stressed. He has done great deeds. First and foremost he freed the closed, cold, and oppressive communist world. He opened the doors and windows, and that took courage, because he himself was a product of that era. That is why I admire him. We owe him a lot. He is a man of great stature.

It is now necessary to adapt the country's liberation in response to the national "explosion" that has engulfed all the many peoples who made up the empire of Peter the Great and Stalin. Mikhail Gorbachev started that process. And today he wants to devote himself to a different cause—the country's unity. He is resisting with all his might the fragmentation of that empire into thousands of pieces. He consented to the republics' autonomy and even their sovereignty, but he wants them to have a center and fairly strong mutual ties, he wants them all to remain in unity, in particular as regards nuclear weapons.

Moreover M. Gorbachev bears the burden of absolute power, which has been handed down in an unbroken line from Lenin to Gorbachev. But today the people reject Marxism. Our country's policy is dictated not by sentiment, but by the new realities. From this viewpoint the proposals of the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, supported by the Asian republics, who are setting up a new Commonwealth, are important and interesting. But we do not yet know who will have the supreme power that could "harmonize" the activity of the confederation of former Soviet republics.

This desire on the part of all the republics of a vast country to establish ties, F. Mitterrand went on, is not only in the interests of those who live in them, but also in the interests of Europe and the entire world. Fragmentation, rivalry, internal struggle, and possibly local wars—all this could lead to a Yugoslav scenario.

The most important problem for France and its Western partners in relations with us is still the Soviet nuclear arsenals. Touching on his proposal for a conference of the four powers which have nuclear weapons in Europe, F. Mitterrand stressed that the question is who will represent the former Soviet Union. It would be better to have a single representative, but if there are three, we will hold talks with all three. The main thing is not how many of them there are, but that nuclear weapons should be under control.

Such a conference, the French president noted, will discuss the problem of nuclear weapons on the territory of the former USSR, and not disarmament. Gorbachev and the presidents of the other republics agree to that, Mitterrand said. J. Major also supported this initiative at the Maastricht meeting.

Latin America & Caribbean

Executive on Report on Oil Exports to Cuba

PM1612140591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 91 p 2

[Unattributed feature under the "Impact" rubric, comprising report on letter from G. Petrunin, first deputy chairman of the "Soyuznefteeksport" All-Union Foreign Trade Association, and Editorial Office comment: "Further Concerning Oil Exports"]

[Text] The Editorial Office has received a letter from G. Petrunin, first deputy chairman of the "Soyuznefteeksport" All-Union Foreign Trade Association. The letter is about the commentary "Switching Over," published by PRAVDA 24 October. The article was about the current fuel and energy crisis in Cuba and Havana's efforts to find alternative sources of oil in Latin America to supplement dwindling fuel imports from the Soviet Union.

"Outside views are always interesting and useful," G. Petrunin writes in this connection, "especially journalists' views which, to some extent, reflect or even shape public opinion regarding particular spheres of professional activity, even if not all aspects are covered objectively and competently enough."

Further on, the writer of the letter rightfully points out that the mechanism of the vast majority of our oil deliveries to Cuba has been made considerably simpler and cheaper since 1978—primarily thanks to the efforts of the Soviet side. Operating within the framework of swap transactions, Venezuela—which is not very far from Cuba—delivers its own oil to the island to meet Soviet commitments, while we deliver oil to somewhere much closer—West Europe—to meet Venezuelan commitments, naturally.

In other words, readers should not continue to mistakenly believe that our official foreign trade organizations are profligate with the people's money, making tankers travel the expensive "bridge over the Atlantic," over 12,000 km long, from Soviet ports to Cuba.

From the Editorial Office:

We thank the "Soyuznefteeksport" leadership for its prompt comment and, in our view, valuable addendum to the PRAVDA article. At the same time, we must point out that the mutually advantageous swap mechanisms were not brought into effect until the late seventies, whereas our oil exports to Cuba began back in 1960. So throughout the first 18 years of Soviet-Cuban cooperation the raising, by the press, among others, of the question of a rational review of the obsolete practice of transoceanic deliveries of fuel was entirely justified. In fact, it was mentioned by PRAVDA, although, perhaps, not as articulately as one would have liked.

Supreme Soviet

Congress of People's Deputies Plan Canceled

LD1612205991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] The speaker of the upper house of the central parliament in Moscow, Anuarbek Alimzhanov, says the idea of convening the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR had now been canceled following the agreement signed in Ashkhabad by the five Soviet Central Asian republics.

He also spoke of laying great hopes on the coming summit in Alma-Ata this weekend by the leaders of sovereign republics. Anuarbek Alimzhanov stressed that the agreement by the leaders of the five to become co-founders of the new Commonwealth provided an historic chance to build a new association on the wreckage of the old unitary state.

Deputies Hold Soviet of Union Session 17 Dec

LD1712201291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] Yes, a session is really taking place here in the Kremlin today. I find it a little difficult at the moment even to know what exactly to call it. Opening today's meeting of the Soviet of the Union, its chairman, Deputy Lubenchenko said: We have a quorum, but I will not announce this. Such was the puzzling phrase.

The point is that formal sessions of the Soviet of the Union cannot take place since three republics, Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine, by resolutions of the Supreme Soviets of these republics, have called back their deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet. For this reason, it was decided not to hold a session of the chambers, a normal session of the Supreme Soviet, but to hold a meeting of people's deputies [sobraniye narodnykh deputatov] at the Soviet of the Union. Deputies Koryugin and (?Sopentsov) were elected the chairmen.

The meeting has been in progress for an hour. People's deputies are discussing a draft appeal which deputies from the chamber of the Soviet of the Union are planning to make to the Supreme Soviet as a whole and to the president. It speaks of the convocation of a Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The chamber of the Soviet of the Republics is not working yet. The fact is that a meeting should be taking place now between Lubenchenko and Alimzhanov, the chairmen of the chambers, and Khasbulatov. It was decided to hold the session of the chamber after this meeting had taken place. The session of the chamber is for the moment planned for approximately 1200.

I know that a draft statement has been prepared by deputies from this chamber of the Soviet of the Republics in which deputies express assent to the agreement that was adopted in Brest and which was then further developed and further supported at the meeting in Ashkhabad.

At the moment, deputies are taking turns speaking at the meeting in the Soviet of the Union. Basically, all of those speaking now are supporting the idea of the convocation of an emergency, extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Among others, Deputy Alksnis spoke. He reported that last night he had been handed a letter from Riga, from Rubiks, who is currently under investigation in a solitary confinement cell. Deputy Rubiks is also in favor of a Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Several other deputies have also spoken, in particular Deputy Nikolskiy, elected from the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Deputy Komarov, who said that although he considers the convocation of a congress utopian, he nevertheless supports the convocation of a congress on the current situation. Deputy Nosov also spoke categorically in support of the convocation of a congress.

The session in the Soviet of the Union is continuing. We will report to our listeners about today's work in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Deputies Issue Appeal

OW1712132691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1203 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of USSR People's Deputies have warned the republican leaders and parliaments against "anti-constitutional sovereignization." The text of the appeal was circulated among the Soviet MPs [members of parliament] attending a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The authors maintain that "the voluntaristic termination of the work of Union and interrepublican bodies creates uncertainty with regard to nuclear arms control and makes the Armed Forces, border defense, transport, telecommunications and the power industry unmanageable."

Dissolving the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet and depriving the MPs of their status by republican bodies was unlawful, said the appeal. The parliamentary meeting was invited to urge the republican parliaments to refrain from recalling their deputies from the national parliament.

Colonel Viktor Alksnis told the MPs that on Monday, December 16, a group of parliamentarians had set up a Committee of USSR People's Deputies to defend their rights.

Supreme Soviet Urges Compromise in Moldova

OW1712130691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1203 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet calls on the belligerents in Moldova to withdraw their armed units and open talks with a view to finding compromise solutions. A draft resolution to that effect was made public Tuesday [17 December] by the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Republics.

The document says that the Council does not mean to interfere in Moldova's internal affairs or pronounce judgment on matters having their own history and their own reasons. "Yet at a time when human lives are taken and elementary human rights violated, reticence is equal to connivance and an inducement to further tensions between the conflicting sides," says the resolution.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Views, Intentions, Career Observed

Addresses Meeting

LD1712135591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1256 GMT 17 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Dec (TASS)—"If Supreme Soviets speak in favor of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], I will respect this decision," USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev said at a meeting with a group of participants in the "Anatomy of Hatred" international conference, which ended its work in Moscow today. At the same time the Soviet state figure remained true to his position that the dismemberment of the country will lead to the aggravation of difficulties currently being experienced by society.

Mikhail Gorbachev is for political and economic union. "But as a politician I cannot swim against the tide, against positions adopted by supreme soviets," he stressed. "I would like to use my potential in order to enrich this process, so that it is a success, since there are things that are more important than politics".

Explaining this thought, Mikhail Gorbachev noted that society is overloaded with problems and that processes of disintegration have reached a critical point.

People believe, the USSR president continued, that the setting up of the CIS may be a chance to resolve problems and I am prepared to do everything I can to ensure that this process proceeds within the framework of the Constitution. Mikhail Gorbachev intends to present relevant proposals at a forthcoming meeting of the leaders of the sovereign republics in Alma-Ata.

Analyzing the current situation in the country regarding difficulties in supplying the population with food, the head of the Soviet state said that "people must not be allowed to go out on to the streets." Political ambitions must be cast aside, otherwise all the democratic structures that have been created over the last six years will be "swept away."

Answering a question from those at the meeting on the possibility of society returning to totalitarianism, Mikhail Gorbachev noted that "if instability assumes national proportions it may give rise to dictatorship." At the same time he came out in favor of a strong state power that would aim to continue reforms and stop disintegration. In his opinion the extreme manifestations of destabilization may return society to totalitarianism.

The guests also asked about the fate of the Soviet nuclear potential. "I hope that the nuclear issue will be resolved no worse than it is being resolved at present," Mikhail Gorbachev assured them.

Answering a question about whether it is possible at the moment to talk of him resigning in the near future the USSR president said: "Resignation is not the main thing. The main thing is for the reforms to continue."

Figurehead Role Ruled Out

AU1712152791 Paris AFP in English 1505 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, Dec 17 (AFP)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has "definitely ruled out a ceremonial role" for himself in the Commonwealth of Independent States announced by Russia, Belarus and Ukraine earlier this month, his spokesman said Tuesday [17 December].

Gorbachev is "an active political figure", Andrey Grachev told a news conference.

He added that the Soviet president considered that the most important thing was to obtain the approval of the various republics for the setting up the commonwealth.

Grachev said Gorbachev would closely monitor a meeting of republican leaders planning to join the commonwealth, due to be held Saturday [21 December] in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan.

If there was a democratic decision, he would accept that choice. "He is certainly not going fight this, politically or any other way," Grachev said.

Gorbachev met Tuesday [17 December] afternoon with Russian President Boris Yeltsin for talks at the Kremlin, the Soviet presidential office meanwhile said.

Nothing was known of the agenda of the meeting, which came a day after the two men held talks with visiting U.S. Secretary of States James Baker.

Adviser on Intentions

AU1612134391 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 13 Dec 91 p 3

[Interview with Georgiy Shakhnazarov, adviser to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, by Csaba Szerdahelyi over the telephone from Moscow on 12 December: "Will He Resign or Not?"]

[Text] At 1700 on 12 December, one of Soviet President Gorbachev's closest advisers confirmed to our correspondent that the Soviet head of state could resign at any moment. We asked Georgiy Shakhnazarov about developments over the telephone.

[Szerdahelyi] Is it true that Mikhail Gorbachev told reporters on 12 December that he was prepared to resign?

[Shakhnazarov] That report is true, although in the end, Gorbachev did not mention anything concrete. I would not like to spread rumors about some kind of battle between spokespersons and advisers, but it is a fact that Gorbachev's spokesman Viktor Grachev still maintains that the president insists on keeping his post.

[Szerdahelyi] To what circle of people did Gorbachev make his announcement?

[Shakhnazarov] He made his announcement to reporters close to the so-called presidential circle. Gorbachev undeniably left himself an exit route in case the situation should change in his favor.

[Szerdahelyi] Do you see any chance of this happening?

[Shakhnazarov] Practically none. Indeed, on 12 December, the Russian parliament ratified the Brest agreement, and in practical terms, this means that even Russia believes that the Soviet Union has ceased to exist. This in turn represents Gorbachev's defeat.

[Szerdahelyi] Does Gorbachev want to place the Army behind him in this kind of situation?

[Shakhnazarov] If you are thinking of a possible military coup—no! I exclude the possibility of Gorbachev choosing a violent solution.

[Szerdahelyi] Could the Army make itself independent?

[Shakhnazarov] I would not dare make any promises on this issue. The situation is very complicated because if Gorbachev resigns, he is still commander in chief according to the Constitution as long as the presidium of the Supreme Soviet does not accept his resignation. Incidentally, Yeltsin and his followers even question whether the Supreme Soviet legally exists.

[Szerdahelyi] You mentioned some kind of exit route for Gorbachev a minute ago. What were you referring to?

[Shakhnazarov] It would not be constructive for me to tell you about that. At the moment, it is Gorbachev who needs advice.

[Szerdahelyi] What can Gorbachev expect after his resignation? Will he become a pensioner?

[Shakhnazarov] The situation changes hourly here in Moscow, and I have to tell you quite honestly that I have no idea.

[Szerdahelyi] Where is Gorbachev right now?

[Shakhnazarov] In the early afternoon, he was definitely in his Kremlin office.

Program Analyzes Career

LD1412190591

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1520 GMT on 14 December carries a 40-minute program entitled "Political Department" in which announcers D. Olshanskiy and I. Menzelintsev analyze USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev's career since 1984 and challenge some of the conventional wisdom on the Soviet president and former Communist Party leader. Their analysis is interspersed with shots of an actor impersonating Gorbachev—complete with homburg and the president's verbal and physical mannerisms—presenting what is meant to be Gorbachev's version of events.

The program examines Gorbachev's claim to have held complete power in 1985 and to have given up more and more of it as reforms progressed. The speakers try to show that in fact Gorbachev did not immediately wrest power from the party's old guard but had to consolidate his position over a period of time.

Speculating on Gorbachev's shift to the right in the autumn of 1990, the announcers claim that senior members of the executive at some point wanted to be more than executors and took control of the president. This led to the events in Vilnius, the joint patrolling decree, and a high-profile Army presence in Moscow. Citing American reports that Gorbachev knew of the coup plot as early as June, the program speculates that the August coup was an attempt by Gorbachev to get rid of his "jailers." Kryuchkov, the theory claims, set up the other plotters, and only the number-one man, Gorbachev, could have set up Kryuchkov. Another theory advances the view that having been in the unique position of leader of the conservatives and leader of the opposition at the same time, Gorbachev, a former protege of Andropov, was motivated by a desire to mount a last bid to save the rotting system.

The program is interspersed with video shots of relevant extracts from Gorbachev's past speeches to support the announcers' arguments, which appear to be based not on access to any exclusive sources but on published material such as newspapers and newsreels.

Yavlinskiy Views Commonwealth as 'Positive'

LD1712070291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0430 GMT 17 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo, 17 Dec (TASS)—The formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States is a positive but far from easy process, believes Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, co-author of the "500 days" plan that was so well-known in its day and deputy chairman of the not-quite-defunct Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy. Yavlinskiy is currently in Japan after being invited by the "For Japanese-Soviet Friendship" association of deputies of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party.

"I have always assumed that both economically and politically the road to independence for the republics entails a fairly lengthy period of joint work in many areas," he said in an interview with TASS. "Numerous economic programs have been based on this. It was our starting-point when we drafted the '500 days' plan and the Economic Treaty. In this sense I can only be pleased that now no one can say that all this happened under pressure or duress. The republics themselves, as represented by their leaders, realized the need to work together in such important fields as the economy, politics to a large extent, the environment, and so forth."

Pointing out the support the new commonwealth has from the parliaments and the public, Yavlinskiy stated that the very same people who used to be stubbornly pro-separatist now realize that the commonwealth is their sole chance—the sole way out of the situation. However, the process will be very difficult and complicated, and will span a time when it is highly difficult to coordinate viewpoints. "It is certainly not easy to finish up one state and build another." Yet there is no time to lose. "Look at what has happened in the economy, in interethnic relations, and it will immediately become clear that we have to quickly switch to practicalities," Yavlinskiy said.

Commentaries View Old Union, New Commonwealth

'We Are Eurasians'

PM1612111591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 91 Union Edition p 10

["Editorial Viewpoint" commentary: "We Eurasian...."]

[Text] As IZVESTIYA predicted, before the "meeting of the three," immediately after the signing of the agreement on the Commonwealth, the Slavic card began to be played. And the press began to play it as a trump excitedly and even with a certain frenzy. The aim of the game was primitive: to set the Slavic part of the former Union against the Muslim republics. The meeting in Ashkhabad of the leaders of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan added passion to the game.

Of course it would be senseless to deny or to fail to note that there is a difference between the culture, mentality, social order, and political sympathies and antipathies of the Slavic and Muslim peoples. And with the skillful kindling of passions this difference could initially lead to confrontation and then to war. Recent events in various parts of the world show that it is terribly simple to do this. Does this option threaten us?

We shall not rule it out, but there is no point in pursuing this avenue of thought. There can only be one conclusion: We shall prove its senselessness yet again. And with that development of events no one will escape.

Reality, however, promises semisolid hopes that this will not happen. The leaders of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine and the leaders of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, and Uzbekistan persistently stress in their statements and speeches that they do not intend to divide the former Union into two opposing halves. Something else is more important for them: our common problems. And they will not be successfully resolved alone or by unions based on ethnic or religious commonality.

We grew up with each other. The country sprawled over two continents but it sometimes seems that in pure form it belongs neither to Europe nor to Asia. We are a kind of special formation. Whether we like it or not we are Eurasians. We must also proceed from that premise in politics.

Dismemberment 'Mortally Dangerous'

92UF0341A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 91 p 2

[Article by Viktor Ilyukhin: "Divided, We Will Not Survive"]

[Text] **The mail of the last few days, and this is an immense stream of letters to the editors, bristles with sharp expressions: "unlimited lawlessness," "political voluntarism," "from people's power to authoritarianism, and from there to a dictatorship," "the empire is dying but the emperors live on," and so on.**

People write, people ask, or they try to answer the questions themselves. Some are disappointed; others, surprised; still others are indignant, and there is a good reason for this. Everyone who holds dear the fate of the motherland, peace on our common earth, and the future of our children and grandchildren cannot just watch calmly while the Union disintegrates. People are incensed by the policy of delays in the rejuvenation of the Union, and also that the presidents are deciding the fate of the people without always taking into account their opinion and wishes.

At first, the delays were being justified by the August events; however, the putschists have already been in prison for more than three months, while the Novo-Ogarevo process is moving as sluggishly as before. At the

same time, the country is continuing its slide toward political and economic collapse. The previously expected renewal has turned into a tragedy; the number of killed and wounded in nationalistic clashes is running into the thousands; the number of refugees is approaching, or perhaps has already exceeded, a million. Nobody registers them. Society is being torn apart by territorial and social contradictions; massive impoverishment of the people is increasing. Instead of moving forward, the country has been thrown many years backward.

And these were just the first bricks, the first bracing rods, whose removal from the foundation of the previously formidable structure brought all of this about. What will the future bring, then? That is why the people reacted with such concern to the statement of the leaders of Belarus, the RSFSR, and Ukraine on the dissolution of the 1922 Treaty on the creation of the USSR. In addition to concern there is puzzlement. Why was it necessary to bury the treaty, which is perhaps the last thing that is keeping us from a great disaster? Why did the presidents undertake such a pernicious step without being authorized by their peoples to do so? These are not simple questions. Some leaders have the desire to get out of the dead end individually. Still, we are too intertwined, and any dismemberment of a living organism into parts is mortally dangerous. The desire to get rid in one fell swoop of all the excesses and cruelty of the nationalities policy carried out by Stalin is understandable. However, in this we also need caution and patience, for there is always a danger of sliding into undisguised nationalism, dividing people into "ours" and "not ours." Besides, it would be unfair for us to look for the reasons for all the current cataclysms and troubles only in the distant past. We have to admit that the process of dismantling the previous system and replacing it with old capitalist relations has been started and intensively continued.

All of this started with changes in political and personal power. In the struggle over it, certain groups, movements, and leaders skillfully played up the very delicate, painful, and sensitive nationalities issue. In many regions they came into power precisely because of gains made on playing up this issue. This was the goal, and for the sake of achieving it they forgot about the well-being of the people, and about peace on their soil.

The Union started to fall apart at the seams; the destructive processes spilled over into the republics, including Russia. In the West there is increasing talk that the Russian state may disappear entirely from the map of the world.

To me, the idea of dissolving the Union Treaty of 1922 increasingly resembles the "Trojan horse," with whose help the destructive processes started. It is not accidental that it emerged at the same time as the three Baltic republics demanded economic independence. This is where the calls for a new Union treaty came, too. The Baltics understood all too well that the destruction of a unified state—no matter under what palatable pretext it would take place—would give Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia an opportunity to secede from the Union without conducting a general referendum. All the while, it will hardly be possible to recreate the USSR as a unified state. For all efforts directed to this end can always be pushed into a corner, drowned in various consultations, delays, different readings of positions, which is exactly what is happening now. The idea of a new treaty was picked up, given a theoretical foundation, and brought to the absurd—to dumping the Union altogether.

The congress of democratic parties, held in Kharkov on the eve of the all-Union referendum, unequivocally decided: "no to the referendum," "no to the Union." At that time, among those who spoke against the referendum were B. Yeltsin, A. Sobchak, S. Stankevich, G. Popov, and many other leaders of democratic movements. True, after realizing how unpopular their positions were among the populace they made corrections and took a stand against the old Union, for its destruction and the building of a new one. It does seem, though, that there was more of the struggle for power and the desire to destroy the center in this than concern about preservation of the country.

Even now, almost all the leaders and parliamentarians in Russia advocate a union in words. In deeds, however, they undertake steps that unquestionably destroy the unified state. This is evidenced, for example, by declarations on the creation of a Russian army, the unilateral absorption of Union structures, the liquidation of the all-Union banking and financial systems, and so on. Other republics followed in Russia's footsteps. Now all the versions of treaties or even of a confederation have been thrown away. And that is despite the fact that in the referendum on the fate of the Union the majority of the people said "yes to the Union." So why do our leaders ignore the will of the people, basing their policies on personal ambitions or group or party interests? Is it not time to hold them to account? They of all people should know what human tragedies the disintegration of the Union will lead to. Perhaps the Russian Congress of People's Deputies will convene and have its say on what kind of Union there should be, thereby setting an example for others.

The very concept of dissolving the Treaty of 1922 is not supportable in legal terms. It has been and remains a questionable step, and has not been necessitated by anything.

As is known, the creation of the USSR was proclaimed on 30 December 1922, and included the RSFSR, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Transcaucasus Republic; later, other republics joined in. The USSR Constitutions of the 1924, 1936, and 1977, as well as republic constitutions, were adopted on the basis of treaties on the creation of the Union and participation in it.

The Union has been ratified legally, but, most importantly, it has existed and so far still exists in political, economic, scientific, technical, and simply human ties. For most people it has become a necessity, a living space. The opponents declare, however, that many republics are not happy with the Union, that many arguments have emerged, and that the domination of the center is too strong.

Of course, one cannot deny that there are currently serious contradictions. Declarations of sovereignty, of secession from the Union, have been proclaimed. Nevertheless, everything should be soberly appraised and weighed time and again.

First, the will of the people should not be confused with the will of politicians. Only the people, nations—not their parliaments or presidents—have the right to self-determination. As to the will of the majority, it has been firmly stated: They want to live in a single union.

Second, I would resort to a comparison and say that spouses may quarrel and then make up; having done so, they do not write a new marriage contract, they simply allow life to go on while removing the irritants. Only when peace is not achievable is the marriage dissolved. The same is applicable here; if the need has arisen to renew the Union, to redistribute the powers between the center and the republics, this needs to be done by making changes in the Constitution and other normative acts, and the development and adoption of other laws. If somebody does not wish to be a member of the Union, secession is a possibility, but again, through compliance with the Constitution and other normative acts and through a referendum in the republic. The legal base for this now exists. As to referendums on the issue of retaining membership in the Union, they should not be substituted by a vote for independence: the two are not comparable. According to the Constitution, the republics are independent, while they "reside" in the Union as equals. The result of a vote for independence, whether in Ukraine or the Baltics, or other republics, cannot be interpreted as the desire of their people to live outside the Union.

In short, by conducting radical reforms in the state structure we in this case remain on firm ground. It would not hurt for all of us to refresh our memory in regard to the materials that established the creation of our Union in the 1920's. Through their significance and meaning, their provisions have been and remain progressive, legally exact, and precise. There is something to learn from it, too. The Treaty of 1922 by itself (Articles 25, 26) does not envisage the procedure of signing a new treaty. Only two options are possible: changing some of its provisions or clarifying them; or an individual republic's secession from the Union.

Commonwealth Formation Viewed

92UN0497A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Dec 91 p 2

[Article by N. Kishkin in the column "Commentary of the Day": "A Way Out of the Impasse?"]

[Text] **Having Gathered in the Forest of Belovezhskaya, the Leaders of Three Republics Signed an Agreement on the Formation of a Commonwealth of Independent States**

If we note the fact that until recently the president of Russia and the chairman of the parliament of Belarus favored the creation of a new Union of Independent States, it will be easy to understand that the position of the third participant in their negotiations, the president of Ukraine, played a significant role in the agreement they signed. The results of an independence referendum held in this republic are unambiguously interpreted there as the consent of the people to seceding from the Union. Apparently, under such circumstances, B. Yeltsin and S. Shushkevich resolved to save whatever could still be saved, prevent complete disintegration, and come to an agreement on coordinating actions in spheres in which these states will be altogether unable to exist in the absence of coordination.

How are we to interpret this action by the three republics? As readers might recall, the issue of what a new entity would amount to—a Union of States or a Union State—was discussed in particular when the latest version of the treaty on the Union of Sovereign States was developed. At the time, it was agreed that the union of sovereign states would be a confederative democratic state with its own organs, the powers of which would be determined by the republics. In other words, this was not about the old center which ordered the republics about but rather a new center based on the interrepublic principle. The Commonwealth of Independent States which has now been proclaimed is ceasing to be a state. In essence, it will be a form of policy coordination among the republics comprising it.

The agreement signed in Minsk dots all the i's. It states that "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a subject of international law and a geopolitical reality has ceased to exist." At present, we may only guess what consequences this will entail. For example, who will represent millions of citizens of the former Union in the United Nations? At any rate, so far only two republics, Ukraine and Belarus, are members of this world community. Problems emerging in the domestic sphere are equally complex. The parties to the agreement stated that, from the moment of its signing, the use of the norms of third countries, including those of the former USSR, were not permitted, and operations by organs of the former Union were discontinued in their territories. However, in view of the fact that the legislation of republics is merely emerging, we may be left in a legal vacuum in quite a number of vital spheres of state and public life.

On what principles do S. Shushkevich, B. Yeltsin, and L. Kravchuk, and the heads of their governments propose to base the new commonwealth? They stated that they intend to build democratic rule-of-law states and to develop relations on the basis of mutual recognition and respect for one another's sovereignty and the principles of equal rights and noninterference in internal affairs. The parties confirmed their adherence to the goals and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, undertook to observe international norms concerning human rights and the rights of peoples, guaranteed equal rights and freedoms to their citizens regardless of nationality, and undertook to facilitate the preservation and development of the cultural, language, and religious independence of ethnic minorities. Recognition and respect for the territorial integrity of the states signing the agreement were affirmed, as well as the inviolability of existing borders, their openness, and freedom of movement for citizens.

An examination of the agreement signed by the three republics indicates that its authors understand the following: In quite a number of spheres, they will not be able to live without one another, "autonomously and independently." This explains why they delineated a sphere of joint activities in the adopted document in which they included the coordination of foreign policy operations, formation and development of a common economic space, European and Eurasian markets, customs and migration policies, development of transportation and communication systems, environmental protection and ecological security, and organized crime control.

If we recall the content of the new version of the Union treaty distributed to the republics by the State Council it will be easy to see that it proceeds from the same principle: to coordinate actions in the sphere of common interests on an interrepublic basis. The difference is in the fact that the draft Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States proposed at least some arrangements to this end, whereas the agreement signed in Minsk included no such arrangements. It envisaged that special agreements would be signed in the area of politics, economics, culture, education, health care, science, trade, and the environment....

This begs the following reasonable question: Since everyone understands that in quite a number of areas, they cannot exist independently of one another, why not resolve all issues on the basis of the Union treaty, why not revise it so that it will suit everyone? The answer is obvious: Some republics do not want to belong to any state; the bugaboo of the old totalitarian state looms large for them. President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk stated straightforwardly as he assessed the documents signed: "We came out against just one factor: That there be a state above us which would govern us." Well, perhaps only time will tell whether it is worth the price, such as the disintegration of the great power, and whether the latter could be designed in a manner forever depriving the center of an opportunity to order the republics about while at the same time defending the interests of each republic through common efforts.

What was the initial response to the decisions made in Minsk? By all signs, they caught many people by surprise. A meeting of the heads of governments of state-members of the Economic Community suspended its proceedings after one hour because, under the new circumstances, the issue of the emergency USSR budget for the fourth quarter, which was being discussed, was up in the air. A meeting of the State Council scheduled for yesterday was not held. Two hours before its scheduled opening, M. Gorbachev, B. Yeltsin, and N. Nazarbayev met. The leaders of the Ukraine and Belarus did not show up at the meeting. As A. Grachev, chief of the press service for the USSR president, communicated, the entire 80 minutes of the meeting were devoted for the most part to questions put to B. Yeltsin. Later, A. Mutalibov and R. Nabiyev, who had arrived in Moscow, joined the conversation. As A. Grachev stated, documents adopted in Belarus will be distributed to the parliaments and leaders of all republics as expressing the position of the three leaders.

At midday, President N. Nazarbayev invited journalists to the office of the permanent representative of the republic. He stated that the parliament of Kazakhstan would, in keeping with its plan, discuss the issue of creating a confederative state. He said that he had not been aware of the forthcoming signing of the agreement. The leaders of the three republics, to whom he had talked the day before, had stated that they would meet in Minsk to coordinate positions on the eve of a transition to a market economy and "to discuss the future of the Union and the Union treaty in conjunction with the situation in Ukraine." Touching upon the role of M. Gorbachev in the new situation, the president of Kazakhstan stated that the Soviet leader has not exhausted his potential by far, and that the country needs him.

As our Kiev correspondent S. Prokopchuk reports, the president of the Ukraine held a news conference there. There will be no superstructure, dictatorial control, and imperial pressure from on high anymore, stated L. Kravchuk. While retaining economic and political sovereignty, Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus will merely agree on their actions, coordinate them with regard to areas and issues of common concern. Within days, arrangements will be made for the transfer of what to this day constitutes the prerogatives of the so-called center, to the jurisdictions of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. As far as the Armed Forces are concerned, it has been resolved to set up a united command. Control over the use of nuclear weapons will be three times more secure now. Three people, S. Shushkevich, B. Yeltsin, and L. Kravchuk will now have the so-called "black case" rather than one person, the president of the former Union. Corresponding systems will be able to operate only if the three presidents of these sovereign states act simultaneously. Responding to a question about a niche for the current USSR president in view of the decisions made, L.

Kravchuk responded: "We did not discuss this issue because we believe that this is his problem rather than ours."

Has the political situation in the country become calmer after the Minsk meeting? At any rate, during the day the editorial office took telephone calls, including those from people's deputies, with demands to convene the Union congress....

More on Democratic Reforms Movement Congress

Compared to Politburo

PM1712090091 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Dec 91 p 2

[Article by A. Frolov under the "Parties, Movements" rubric: "Will We See a New Politburo?"]

[Text] The congress of the Movement for Democratic Reforms (MDR) begins in Moscow on 14 December. Let me remind you that the movement's formation was announced 2 July this year by A. Volskiy, N. Petrakov, G. Popov, A. Rutskoy, I. Silayev, A. Sobchak, S. Shatalin, E. Shevardnadze, and A. Yakovlev. I. Laptev soon joined the founding fathers, becoming cochairman of the movement's organizing committee alongside A. Volskiy, E. Shevardnadze, and A. Yakovlev.

The appeal signed by the "Nine" was fairly general in character, and that perplexed some observers: Is it possible on this basis to create some kind of stable new structure, and what is it for anyway, when the "Democratic Russia" movement already exists? Russian Democratic Party chairman N. Travkin even saw this venture as an attempt to reform the CPSU, and flatly refused to take part, saying that he does not play games like that.

Time has confirmed that the MDR's activity patently contains a significant element of political games and discrepancies between the label and the contents. A movement, in the proper sense of the word, did not exist then and does not now, though there is a splendid administrative building, a large apparatus, and they even have their own security service.

The majority of the MDR's founders are constantly in view, expressing their opinions and acting in a clearly coordinated way. And while I. Silayev and A. Rutskoy have today distanced themselves somewhat from the team as a whole, this immediately led to a marked reduction in the effective weight of the specific state posts that they hold. The activity of the Interstate Economic Committee, which I. Silayev heads, is apparently never going to get under way properly, while attempts were even made to deprive RSFSR Vice President A. Rutskoy of the right to vote in the Cabinet of Ministers.

Are these mere coincidences? If you assess them on the basis of the real—not merely the ostensible—mechanism for the exercise of state power, then no, they are not mere coincidences.

Every parliamentary state has its own "politburo"—a center of supreme political power that is not elected and not bound by constitutional rules, which evolves and operates according to its own internal rules, irrespective of popular representation. It may be official or unofficial, secret or overt, collective or even personified in a single individual, but if there is no such center, society gets out of control and plunges into chaos.

The formation of the MDR was, in our opinion, an attempt to fill the vacuum that formed in the place of the former CPSU Politburo, which had not previously been achieved by the numerous councils under M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin, still less by the "Democratic Russia" coordinating council.

This view of the MDR's real role is shared by observers of the most diverse political orientations—like political scientist S. Kurginyan and NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA chief editor V. Tretyakov. The latter, for instance, confidently lists the distribution of portfolios in this "shadow cabinet." S. Kurginyan, for his part, assesses the MDR's claims to the role of a politburo as entirely unfounded, emphasizing the uncertainty of its social base and the vagueness of its ideology.

Be that as it may, the movement's congress will face serious problems. First, after the signing of the agreement on the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States it is not clear in what political space the MDR intends to operate. Second, the mechanism for conveying the influence of the MDR political council to the localities remains undeveloped (and this was in fact where the former strength of the CPSU leadership lay). Third, there is as yet no ideology distinguishing the MDR from other similar formations. Finally, a difficult competitive struggle with forces laying claim to the exercise of the same functions as the MDR lies ahead.

All these problems ultimately amount to one thing: You can only play a leading and guiding role in society by drawing on the support of a genuine leading social force and acting as its mouthpiece. The MDR has firmly and distinctly declared its orientation toward the interests of entrepreneurs. And that determines its future destiny.

For the time being, despite the unrestrained political publicity, the main bulk of our country's "business" is demonstrating only a flagrant lack of constructive potential and total social incapability in everything relating to the interests of the whole state and people and national interests. It seemingly lacks even an elementary sense of self-preservation. The MDR, acting in its name, is doomed to the role of the country's grave-digger rather than its leader. If, of course, the masses accept such leaders without a murmur.

Composition of Delegates Reported

PM1612160391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 91 p 2

[Report by Valentina Nikiforova under the "Parties and Movements" rubric: "The Opposition Position"]

[Text] Recently weekends have been filled with constituent and routine congresses and conferences—parties and movements are defining their positions and establishing themselves on the soil "fertilized" by the ban on the CPSU. The Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] held its third congress recently and a week later, 14 December, the constituent congress of the Movement for Democratic Reforms opened.

Representatives of "Travkin's" party conducted a heated and energetic debate. There were organizational errors and mistakes but they did not annoy the participants in the congress, rather they gave people the courage to act constructively and more quickly to overcome the confusion and chaos reigning in the country—vitally important questions of preserving statehood and ensuring a worthy life for the bulk of the population were decided. It is clearly no coincidence that 25 percent of DPR members are skilled workers.

At the Movement for Democratic Reforms congress, however, everything was well thought out and considered down to the last detail—this was a result of the experience of its organizers and participants: one delegate in six represented the nomenklatura, which is experienced in such events. The political report delivered by A. Yakovlev and the weighty coreports—there were nine on the agenda—were accompanied by polite applause. The problems on the agenda were studied in depth in four sections. Detailed documents were prepared in time for the congress.

For example, the "program statement" says: "The distinguishing feature of our movement is that it is oriented primarily toward the incipient market sectors of the economy and seeks to express the interests of businessmen whose social base consists of property owners: entrepreneurs, workers, private farmers, managers, the scientific-technical and creative intelligentsia, and other social groups who link their future to the successes of enterprise."

As you can see, the social groups forming the social basis did not omit the leaders of the socialist revolution as designated by the word "workers." Former ideologues and prominent figures of the CPSU, having renounced the socialist orientation and now representing the interests of businessmen, included workers in their ranks, too.

The movement's founders, aware of the possibility of an inappropriate reaction to the main provisions of the program, reserve the right of maneuver. Some participants in the movement call it a ruling party but in certain circumstances it can operate in the role of a constructive opposition to the government or be the opposition itself, while remaining a mass movement for the protection of rights and reserving to itself the right to take part in elections.

Such foresight on the part of the representatives of the former nomenklatura, which has managed to exchange communist ideals for now more fashionable democratic ones, proved very timely. At the entrance to Moscow's Rossiya movie theater, congress delegates were greeted by pickets from the organizational committee "For the Revival of the Komsomol."

"We are opposed to the Soviet bourgeoisie," they proclaimed through their megaphones. "You have brought the country to ruin and now you are going to defend the shadow economy."

The social composition of the congress delegates is interesting. Representatives of science, culture, and education make up 20.2 percent, engineering and technical staff—19.8 percent, and businessmen—14.7 percent, while workers form just 2.5 percent...

News Conference Held

LD1612174891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1435 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Ludmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Dec (TASS)—The Movement for Democratic Reforms (MDR) is wrongly pictured by certain mass media as "a figure on cardboard legs which has only a head, but nothing underneath to support it." This was stated by participants in the news conference which took place here in Moscow today, on the results of the founding congress of the MDR held on 14-15 December.

Applications to take part in the congress, it was revealed at the news conference, came in from all the former Union republics. More than 15 delegations representing autonomous structures, more than 60 regional centers and representatives from about 30 parties and 70 public associations participated in the congress.

Arkadiy Volskiy categorically refuted the current tendency to present the MDR as a "new kind of politburo." He claimed that some "do not understand the sincere aspiration of the initiators of the movement to unite the democratic forces." "We have no other desire besides this," he stressed.

The MDR representatives recalled the position the movement has taken on two issues of principle: with regard to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] and with regard to the executive authority. The constituent congress, emphasized Gavriil Popov, MDR cochairman, supported the initiative to set up the CIS, having set the task of filling the new alliance of states with democratic content and of ensuring that human rights are observed everywhere. The dispute about whether the MDR ought to be an opposition force was, according to Arkadiy Volskiy, resolved in the following

manner: to cooperate with progressive forces within the local authorities and to oppose those forces that are retrogressive. Appraising Boris Yeltsin's economic program, he expressed support for it. "If we stand still, we will either arrive at chaos or we will slide toward a police state," he stressed. It was in the summer of this year that a group of prominent politicians and economists, including a number of former party and state leaders, put forward the initiative to set up the MDR. The movement was originally conceived by them as a democratic alternative to the CPSU and an instrument of struggle against totalitarianism, but the constituent congress had to define the MDR's goals and tasks already in new conditions. The forum determined that the MDR ought to strive toward the setting up of a "unified democratic space" on the former USSR's territory; to fight for the observance of human rights; and to facilitate the implementation of economic reforms, paying foremost attention to the development of entrepreneurship.

More on News Conference

OW1612210791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] The main objective of the Movement for Democratic Reforms is to rally together all democratic forces, said leaders of the movement at a Monday press-conference that was devoted to the results of the movement's constituent assembly that took place in Moscow on December 14 and 15.

Mr. Arkadiy Volskiy, one of the movement's leaders, said that the forum had attracted around 1600 participants from 30 parties and 70 public organisations from nearly all national state entities that have emerged in what was the Soviet Union in recent times. [passage omitted]

Around 140 member, including nearly all of the movement's founders—Yakovlev, Shevardnadze, Shatalin, Sobchak, Popov, Volskiy and Shostakovskiy—were elected co-chairmen of the board.

Asked about why Mr. Aleksandr Rutskoy was not elected, Mr. Volskiy said that the Russian vice-president was voted into the movement's board. "Both we and he believes that his position is serious enough, and let God give him power to handle it in the right way," said Mr. Volskiy.

The congress crystallized the Russian structure of regional organisations within the movement. According to Mr. Volskiy, the latest movement congress was in a pleasant contrast to the previous ones that often lacked order and structure.

He conceded that there had been cases of representatives of different regions levelling nationalistic accusations against one another. According to Mr. Volskiy, this means that there are problems and they must be addressed. He pointed out that the local chapters of the movement must assume peacemaking functions in ethnic conflicts.

Zhirinovskiy: 'Provide Everyone With Everything'

PM1312115991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by S. Mostovshchikov: "Liberal-Democratic Party Went to 'Sailors' Silence' To Make a Noise"]

[Text] On 7 December 1991 Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party, launched an act of political indignation at the arrest and detention of members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. With bullhorn in hand and accompanied by a column of supporters, the well known orator marched from the "Sokolniki" subway station to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Detention Center No. 4 in Sailors' Silence Street. A rally was held by the walls of the institution demanding that the State Committee for the State of Emergency be allowed to go home.

There were not many demonstrators (around 200), but they represented a wide assortment of people: the "candidate" for president, a USSR people's deputy, an 11th-grader starting his political career, a colonel with a military pilot's collar tab, a deacon, young sellers of the "spiritual opposition" organ—the newspaper DEN [Day]—"Nashi," and a crowd of elderly citizens. Journalists, militiamen, and workers from the special services in civilian clothes stood some distance away.

At 1300 hours banners and hand-written placards suitable for the occasion were put up by those gathered outside the "Sokolniki" subway station, saying things like "Judases in the Kremlin, Patriots in Prison," and "V. Stepankov, Tame Prosecutor and Disgrace to Soviet Justice." At the head of the column there was a banner saying "We Support the State Committee for the State of Emergency!" skillfully using the unpronouncable abbreviation to say "We Support Humane Power, the Consolidation of Society, an Honest Policy, and a Rule-of-Law State".

The protesters made their way to Detention Center No. 4 to the sounds of a military band playing "The Slav Woman's Farewell," at Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's request. The demonstrators with badges saying "Nashi" on their chests made parting attempts to persuade the curious Slav women who had gathered around to engage in political activity. The following arguments were used as incentive:

"Woman, do you want sausage at 2.20 rubles? Come with us!"

However, no one was handing out sausage by the walls of the detention center. They were more generous with words at the microphone. The first to speak was Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, who reported to those around him that he is a

lawyer and sees the detention of the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency as a violation of the law. Vladimir Volfovich cited a certain hypothetical African country by way of an example where "if someone from the government disappears, it's only like this: One or two people flee somewhere for a cushy life, whereas in our country they have gone and put the top political leadership in prison. Whoever heard of such a thing?" Apart from that, Zhirinovskiy promised to quickly provide everyone with everything necessary, to allow Russian people to take a trip to Paris, and also to repeal the horrible-sounding name of the country—the Union of Sovereign States—and call it the Russian Federative Democratic Republic for Everyone (RFDRE).

Despite the powerful amplifiers in the specially equipped vehicle, it evidently proved impossible shout loudly enough to reach the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency behind the thick walls of the detention center. At least "Sailors' Silence" was silent.

However, the building opposite was in a flurry of excitement: Children leapt out of the doorways and curious residents appeared on the balconies...

After those who wanted to had by and large backed up Vladimir Volfovich's words, the rally dispersed. A proposal was made to gather again in two weeks' time to turn detention center No. 4 into a Bastille. But a Russian version, of course.

How should we react to this statement? Today there would seem to be no grounds for a serious reaction. But what about tomorrow, when the situation on the consumer market deteriorates even further? Maybe then people will believe V. Zhirinovskiy, who is promising to feed the people in 72 hours? They will believe this as Russia has always believed in the magic tablecloth and the flying carpet....

Militiamen Posted To Prevent PRAVDA Access

PM1712110991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 91 pp 1, 2

[Report by Georgiy Ovcharenko: "Diary of a Blockade: Six Days Under Siege"]

[Text] New entries are being made in the diary of the blockade. Some of them are good news: The premises occupied by journalists have had the light and telephones reconnected. As for the rest, however—nothing has changed. The most important thing is that nonstaff writers are not being allowed into the editorial office, thus making production of the newspaper difficult.

Staffers of the commercial service remain in the most difficult predicament. On the morning of 14 December, the publishing house placed extra militia posts on the floor where our commercial management is housed. Its workers have been prevented from entering the building at all. The young men in uniform, armed with night sticks and regulation issue weapons, were depressed at the position they were in:

"We cannot refuse to obey our orders," they say. "It is a familiar situation: The militia are being turned into whipping boys again."

Incidentally, several volunteers from the publishing house also helped "protect order." But when they grasped the situation they left the editorial office. But the emergency militia posts, it seems, had been installed as a long-term measure: There was even a color television set installed for their convenience on the 10th floor landing. All very cosy.

Incidentally, we have no gripes against ordinary militiamen—they are obeying an order, albeit an unreasonable one. Their attitude toward PRAVDA workers is not bad, for example they are allowing food to be supplied to staffers in the commercial service who, in protest against all this arbitrary treatment, are refusing to leave their offices, which are full of valuable computer equipment.

But here is a paradox: The building is being guarded at the editorial office's expense. It turns out that we are paying people to stop us entering the building and prevent us from working.

Yes, there is no end in sight to the publishing house leaders' legal excesses. On the evening of 13 December, when PRAVDA workers had gone home after production of the latest issue of the newspaper was complete, M. Kostrov, deputy director of the publishing house, turned up at our premises surrounded by reporters from the Russian news program Vesti. Mikhail Stepanovich, at his own discretion, opened PRAVDA offices and our colleagues did not even ask on what grounds he was doing this.

Publishing House Director V. Leontyev himself is taking a tough line. When he heard about the hunger strike by N. Volynskiy, our correspondent in Leningrad, Vyacheslav Petrovich merely smiled: "Do not bother me with this," he said. And he added: "We will take the premises from you anyway." Just like that.

There have still been no reports from the Moscow City Prosecutor's Office, where we lodged an official protest at the unlawful actions by the publishing house's leaders. We hope that in the next day or two lawyers will submit their verdict on the situation concerning PRAVDA. Today we are also awaiting representatives of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee on the Mass Media.

Generally speaking, everything going on around our editorial office today is reminiscent of less than auspicious times in the country's history. An anecdote from 1917 springs to mind. A countess, on hearing gunfire in the street, asked a servant: "What is happening out there?" "A revolution," the servant replied. "But what do they want?" "To do away with the rich." "That is

odd," the countess replied. "My grandfather was a Decembrist and he fought to do away with poverty."

Thus it seems to us the publishing house and the Russian Ministry of Information and the Press should be struggling not to make PRAVDA workers operate in intolerable conditions but to ensure that all editorial offices, regardless of their stance and convictions, are at least housed in premises like those of PRAVDA today.

Of course, this is not easy to do. It is far easier not to create anything new but to divide up the old and take it away from others—especially from journalists you do not like—and bring a newspaper to the brink of closure.

Security, Human Rights Conference Held

PM1312155191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Dec 91 First Edition p 3

[Report by Interrepublic Security Service Main Military Counterintelligence Directorate Public Relations Group: "Security and Human Rights: Military Counterintelligence Officers' Round-Table Conference"]

[Text] A round-table conference on the topic "Ensuring the Country's National Security and Human Rights" was held in the city of Novosibirsk 10 December on the initiative of the Interrepublic Security Service [ISS] Higher Courses in Military Counterintelligence.

The following took part in discussing the problem: USSR, RSFSR, and local Soviet people's deputies; representatives of Novosibirsk higher education establishments; scientists and specialists from Moscow, Minsk, Tashkent, Omsk, Tomsk, and Nizhnyy Novgorod; and staffers of the RSFSR Federal Security Agency and ISS military counterintelligence organs.

Questions concerning political, economic, environmental, and military security were discussed. Special attention was paid to safeguarding human rights in the process of state security organs' operational investigative activity.

Almost Half of Polled Predict Armed Conflict

OW1412145191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1423 GMT 14 Dec 91

[From "Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the next ten years it is entirely possible that there will be armed conflicts between some republics of the former Union, replied 48% of the participants of a November poll by the National Public Opinion Studies Center (VCIOM). 9815 people in a Russian representative selection were chosen to participate in the poll.

10% were convinced that such conflicts were virtually unavoidable.

30% felt that civil war was unlikely.

Only 3% of those polled were sure that events could not development in such a manner, the "Data" news agency reports.

16% had difficulty answering.

Margin of error—3%.

Majority of Russians Welcome Commonwealth

OW1712073591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0705 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the "DATA" news agency, a December opinion poll by the National Public Opinion Studies Center among 1,005 respondents in 14 Russian cities showed that 64% welcome the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS].

11% disapprove of it.

8% are unaware of the agreement between Ukraine, Belarus and Russia.

17% were undecided.

Margin of error—3%.

END OF THE UNION?

Half of the participants in the same poll believe the Commonwealth have nothing to do with the former Union.

1 in 4 thinks the CIS agreement means the Union's rebirth.

28% did not give a clear answer.

Most Soviet Germans Would Like To Emigrate

OW1612181391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] No less than 90% of Soviet Germans would like to emigrate to Germany or another Western country, the Chairman of the Council for the Rehabilitation of Russian (Soviet) Germans, Heinrich Grout, has told journalists today. He said the reason for this was the authorities' failure to enforce the Law on the Rehabilitation of Persecuted Peoples and their virtual refusal to take any steps to restore the Republic of Volga Germans.

According to Mr. Grout, yesterday's meeting of his council expressed the view that it as impossible to carry out the suggestion of the president of the Russian Federation that the German republic be situated on the territory of the Kapustin Yar nuclear-missile testing ground.

In an interview given to an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent, Mr. Grout stressed that it was the main task for the

council and the Wiedergeburt (Renaissance) society, which he also heads, to achieve the elimination of all the restrictions for the emigration of Germans from the former USSR, although the council and society were still going to continue their efforts to restore the German republic in the Volga area. Previously, the latter was the main task for the Soviet German movements.

TASS Carries Press Review for 14 Dec

LD1412080291 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT 14 Dec 91

["Moscow Newspapers—Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—The newspaper TRUD on Saturday [14 December] published an interview with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, in which he emphasised the slump in the economy would be arrested in a year. "The economy, finances and the living standard will stabilise. It will not be easier in the months to come. Trust is crucial now. It is all-important now not to become indifferent, not to let oneself be overtaken by pessimism, not to lose hope. The task of the authorities is to ensure that no one and nothing stands in the way of people. If we grasp this, we will manage to hold out and achieve success," Yeltsin said.

All Moscow newspapers report about armed clashes in the Dnestr region. Commentaries on these events are brief and contradictory. The newspaper PRAVDA cites the statement by the Moldovan Interior Ministry, saying: "This provocation was clearly provoked to thwart the constructive talks among Moldova's President Mircea Snegur and the leaders of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine."

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, however, quotes Snegur himself as telling journalists: "Relying on the incomplete information, which is in my possession, armed clashes near Dubossary can be evaluated as actions by separatists and national accord in the republic goes against the grain with them."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publishes a report about the meeting of Soviet Defence Minister Ye. Shaposhnikov with journalists, during which Shaposhnikov dismissed "forecasts of an early military coup, which have been made in the past few days, as false."

"The minister stated with full responsibility that the situation in the Army was calm and under control. There can be no talk about any preparations for a coup under way among officers or in the Army," the newspaper writes.

The press reports about the signing of the joint statement by the heads of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan in Ashkhabad.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes in this regard: "Everything depends now on the stance of Russia, which in the short term may appear to be playing the role of a beam carrier, balancing out both the Slavic commonwealth and the Turkestan bloc and, consequently, also itself."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA features an interview with Lieutenant-General Yu. Grekov, first deputy commander of the troops of the Transcaucasian Military District. Commenting on reports about numerous attacks on Soviet Army servicemen in the Caucasus, Grekov said: "All military motor vehicles moving with cargoes along Georgia's territory will from now on be escorted by a guard, which was instructed to use weapons in the event of an attack."

Press Review for 17 Dec

LD1712074491 Moscow TASS in English 0718 GMT 17 Dec 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—Today's press highlights the stay of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Moscow and his meetings with Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Marshal of the Air Force Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, Soviet minister of defence.

Newspapers report a joint news conference of the president of Russia and the U.S. secretary of state, held on Monday [16 December] after four-hour talks between them. An aggregate of about 20 problems were touched upon during the talks, Yeltsin and Baker said.

Yeltsin in particular told journalists that the question of the recognition of Russia as an independent state and its admission to the United Nations Organisation, including the possibility of Russia's taking the place which belonged in the U.N. Security Council to the Soviet Union, was considered during the meeting.

Gorbachev, before the start of his meeting with Baker, pointed out the importance of the current phase of the country's transition to a new stage of development. "Responsibility for it is borne not only by the Soviet Union but also by its partners, the United States, in particular," he said.

During the meeting Shaposhnikov assured the U.S. guest that all nuclear weapons—strategic and tactical—are under a single command and centralised control.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspapers summarise Gorbachev's interview with U.S. TIME magazine, in which he disproved rumours about his impending resignation and voiced confidence that he must remain at the post of the president during the transitional period.

"The Belovezhskaya Pushcha 'Trio': Each Playing One's Own Game" is the headline under which PRAVDA frontpages a commentary by Miroslav Buzhkevich on the new commonwealth issue. He urges the initiators of the agreement and the leaders of republics that want to

join the new Commonwealth not to be deterred by the existing problems, reach accord and accomplish their undertakings.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA runs the Soviet president's decrees on a military oath of allegiance and on introducing changes to the disciplinary regulations of the Soviet Armed Forces (concerning responsibility of the commander for the legitimacy of the issued order and the consequences of its execution).

The press gives prominence to the decision of Mayor Gavriil Popov of Moscow to resign from the post. Popov told journalists on Monday [16 December] that the implementation of his election campaign promises continuously encountered resistance in both Moscow and republican managerial structures. "Popov's resignation, does it mean wounded feelings or flight from responsibility?" RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA queries. PRAVDA comments on the subject as well.

"The Soviet Army should remain undivided", Lieutenant-General Leonid Ivashov, chief of the business management department of the Soviet Defence Ministry, said in an interview published in today's SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

Setting out his point of view he argues that "groups of troops and military facilities were established unevenly on republican territories and their emergence was prompted by military-strategic expediency".

All strategic systems—air defence, anti-missile defence, troop control and intelligence—are common for the entire Union while a "disruption of one of the elements paralyses the operation of the entire system", the general believes.

The purposes and tasks of a Socialist Party of the Working People that proclaimed itself to be a successor to the Soviet Communist Party are described in PRAVDA by Roy Medvedev, a USSR people's deputy and member of the organising committee of the party's first congress, which is to be held in Moscow on December 21-22.

The council of representatives of the independent trade union of miners of the Kuznetsk coal fields is concerned over the fact that the social insurance money of industrial and office workers is taken to various budgetary funds, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA reports.

The newspaper carries excerpts from the independent trade union's letter to the Russian authorities, suggesting that the president of the Russian Federation meet representatives of "free trade unions" before January 15 in the interests of resolving the current situation.

In an interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, Major-General A. Kulikov, Interior Ministry troops' chief for Northern Caucasus and Transcaucasia, believes that Interior Ministry troops should be withdrawn from the region because the decision to bring them there was taken at a time when the Soviet Union existed. "Now that Armenia and Azerbaijan are independent states, a different legal basis is needed for the stay of Union Interior Ministry troops there," he maintains.

Newspapers carry reports by their correspondents about the democratic reform movement's founding congress that ended in Moscow on Sunday, the adoption of the movement's charter and the election of members of its board.

The press continues to draw readers' attention to the situation in the country's flashpoints—Chechen-Ingushetia, Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Moldavia.

In their international news sections newspapers run information on the situation in Yugoslavia, Cambodia, the Middle East, the Korean peninsula, and articles on disarmament issues.

Economic

Bank Suggests Mortgaging Gold Reserve

OW1212090491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2100 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Foreign Economic Bank (Vneshekonombank) believes external debt servicing may be facilitated by a gold swap deal with the West and by requesting a hard-currency load from domestic commercial banks.

It suggests swapping a share of the national gold reserve worth $1 billion in their accounts. More exact figures have not been available because the central republican banks have failed to duly control the transfer of hard currency to the accounts of commercial banks.

These suggestion were announced on Wednesday [11 December] by the Vneshekonombank deputy president Thomas Alibegov at a meeting of the interstate Economic Council that discussed December's revenues to the Union-republican fund of hard currency.

According to Mr. Alibegov, Vneshekonombank's resources are almost fully exhausted and even payments on the country's external debt (December's payments are expected to amount to 130 million "hard" rubles) present considerable difficulties. The agreements reached by Russia, the Ukraine and Belarus terminate the effect of Union laws, including President Gorbachev's decree on the transfer of 40% of factories' hard-currency revenues to the Union-republican fund—an order that the republics have never actually fulfilled.

In recent weeks, Mr. Alibegov said, hard currency transfer from Vneshekonombank accounts to foreign banks had acquired the dimensions of a "natural calamity." During only one working day and few days ago, commercial banks had urged the Foreign Economic Bank to transfer a total of $70 million abroad. "It is quite

possible that efforts are being made to hade hard currency in foreign countries in view of further instability in the USSR," Alibegov said.

The Interstate Economic Council may submit hard-currency problems for discussion to the Council of republican prime ministers, due to meet next Monday or Tuesday [16 or 17 December].

Official Reports Supply Delivery Dates

EC Supplies To Arrive in Dec

PM1312100491 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Report from ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA-TASS-RIA column: "What We Will Get for the Credits"]

[Text] According to Gennadiy Kulik, deputy chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, supplies obtained under the new EC credits could begin to arrive in late January-early February of next year. It is proposed that, in all, we will receive 5 million tonnes of grain, 240,000 tonnes of meat, 25,000 tonnes of dried milk, 90,000 tonnes of butter, 100,000 tonnes of vegetable oil, and also medical supplies worth 100 million ECU's [European currency units]. Gennadiy Kulik also announced that under the terms of the credit it will be possible also to buy food from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The share of each of the 12 republics of the former Union will be defined within the framework of the credit granted.

Food Shipments Jan-Feb

LD1312151791 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 13 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Zheleznov]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Foreign food deliveries to the former Soviet Union will start in late December, Gennadiy Kulik, deputy head of the Economic Management Committee, told TASS today.

The food will be purchased with EC credits of 500 million ECUs [European currency units] and a U.S. credit of 1,500 million dollars.

Food shipments promoted by new credits worth 1,250 million dollars will begin in next January-February, Kulik said. The creditors said half of the money is to be spent on food purchases from Eastern Europe and the Baltics. A special commission is now studying food markets in these countries, Kulik said.

Figures Show Further Economic Disintegration

OW1312012591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2034 GMT 12 Dec 91

["Cover Story" from the 13 December "Soviet Business Report" feature—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] **CONDITION OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY IN THE FINAL MONTH OF 1991 - DISINTEGRATION ACCELERATES**

In the first eleven months of 1991, the USSR's national income has fallen by 13.5 percent, a record fall over 1990's already ailing national income figures. Macroecon, a research center which has analyzed national income figures based on the figures for leading growth indicators in the first eleven months of 1991, has cited stagflation as the most dangerous phenomenon in the Soviet economy. While prices for almost all goods and services continue to rise, production, calculated in units, is falling.

INDUSTRY

Compared to the same period in 1990, overall production (in comparable prices) has slipped by 11.3 percent. Average daily output has fallen by 9 percent. In January 1991, production was already falling rapidly—with corresponding figures of 4.3 percent for overall production and 3 percent for average daily production. Macroecon attributes the accelerated disintegration to the destruction of economic ties between individual enterprises and the general lack of economic management.

	Percentage of reduction since the same period last year
Oil drilled, including associated gas	10
Coal mined	10
including: cox	20
Gas drilled	0.3
for November only	2
Electric energy produced	2
including: thermal electric power stations	3
Production of rolled iron	13
for November only	19
Production of steel pipe	11
for November only	23
Output:	
Metal-cutting machine tools	10
for November only	26
Tractors	14
for November only	30
Railroad freight cars	14
for November only	33
Mineral fertilizers	8
for November only	9

FOODSTUFFS

In the first eleven months of 1991, the Soviet Union purchased only 60 percent of the grain and millet it purchased in 1990, only 32 percent of the buckwheat and 13 percent of the rice.

Output of meat fell by 11 percent, milk by 10 percent, and eggs by 3 percent.

FOREIGN TRADE

Macroecon specialists indicate that the Soviet Union's role in foreign trade is also diminishing. In the eleven months of 1991, the volume of foreign trade has fallen off by 36.4 percent, representing a 136.7 bn ruble reduction. Of this amount, exports fell by 30.7 percent and imports by 41.7 percent.

In the first eleven months of 1991, foreign trade decreased as follows for specific goods

Export		Import	
Goods	Percentage reduction since last year	Goods	Percentage reduction since last year
Stone			
Coal	19	Wool	17
Cox	60	Coffee	18
Raw oil	51	Cocoa beans	
Oil products	17	and others	23
		Tea	30
		Poultry	58
Natural gas	3		
Butter	33		
Electric		Sunflower	
Energy	47	Oil	67
Cast iron	49	Citrus fruits	45
Phosphorous		Cotton	
Fertilizers	32	Fabrics	70
Cellulose	46	Textiles	67
Cotton			
Fiber	23	Knitted wear	65
Refrigerators	28	Leather	
Televisions	58	Footwear	70
		Medicines	51

The sharp reduction in consumer goods and foodstuffs imports, accompanied by the slump in the USSR's domestic production, has aggravated shortages on the consumer market and the growing social tensions, says Macroecon.

FORECAST OF YEAR END FIGURES

An analysis of Soviet economic development during January-November 1991 prepared by Macroecon experts gives an amplified forecast of 1991 year end figures Macroecon's calculations suggest the following parameters:

Indicators	Percentage reduction since 1990
Gross National Product	12
Produced National Income	14
including pure production:	
industrial	11
agricultural	13
construction	14
transportation/communications	19
trade/procurements/	
supply	14
other	6

Businesses Create Independent States Council

OW1412115391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2025 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting in Moscow December 13th of members of the Council on Business to the Soviet President, representatives of business enterprises, unions and associations passed a decision to create a Council of business associations of the independent states.

In an appeal by the participants of the meeting, it was announced that the council is open for cooperation with all business enterprises.

The representatives of business circles also made a statement in which it was emphasized that to make the process of forming a new society to independent states a reality, economic interests and agreements in the various states must coincide.

Representatives of business enterprises, associations and unions feel that the economy can only be stabilized under conditions of real equality of all forms of property, and if this is assisted by free movement of the people, goods and capital in one economic space. "We are in favor of a union of efforts by all independent states to endure this crisis on the road to concordant radical economic reforms," the statement says.

Price Liberalization Poll Conducted

OW0712221591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 7 Dec 91

[From the "Viewpoint" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The National Public Opinion Studies Centre (VCIOM) has taken a poll whose results show that even as far back as last August 4 of the country's population feared that the price rises would put their families under the poor category.

To the question, "what would you do to avoid getting poor?", 49% replied they would do nothing apart from just being economical; 28% said they would be trying to earn more; 21% hoped their own gardens and animals would keep them going; 12% were planning to spend their savings; every tenth respondent hoped he would be able to get a lot of land; 5% were going to ask their rich relatives or friends for help; another 5 were going to sell some of their possessions.

Altogether 3,004 people were questioned, representing various social groups, the Data agency reports.

The margin of error was 3%.

Military

Shaposhnikov on Army Status, Lobov Removal

PM1712113191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Vladykin: "Army Beyond Political Games, Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov Said at Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister, met representatives of a number of mass media 13 December. Answering journalists' questions, he drew attention to the groundlessness of predictions of an impending military coup that have been heard too often over the last few days. The minister said with utmost responsibility that the situation among the troops is calm and manageable, like that within the country today. There are and there can be no preparations for a putsch among officers or in the Army as a whole.

Broaching the question of the nuclear forces, Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov said that these kinds of weapons, both strategic and tactical, are under unified control in accordance with the previously announced schedule. None of the presidents of the sovereign states can use them in any way.

The talk also turned to the recent decrees issued by Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk, who has proclaimed himself commander in chief of this independent republic's armed forces. In the USSR defense minister's opinion, the head of any sovereign state is entitled to do that. But transferring units of the USSR Armed Forces stationed on any of the former Soviet republics' territory under their jurisdiction is another matter entirely.

Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov and Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk had a long and thorough discussion on this subject, as a result of which they agreed not to take hasty, rash steps in this area. If that process is essential to Ukraine, it must be carried out in a civilized manner and the phased nature of the steps to be taken formulated, along with the relevant timeframes and mechanisms. To this end Colonel General B. Pyankov flew from the Defense Ministry to Kiev 13 December, accompanied by a group of generals and officers from the General Staff.

The latest events in the region of the city of Dubossary were not ignored either; according to the central military department's data, a group of OMON [special purpose militia detachment] men traveling by bus from Kishinev captured Dnestr guardsmen here. This sparked off an exchange of fire. There were several fatalities on both sides. Representatives of the Prosecutor's Office flew from Kishinev to the scene of the clash, along with an investigative group. The situation there has now stabilized and it should not be fueled. The USSR Armed Forces will not interfere in conflicts within or between republics. There are forces of internal order there to tackle this.

We now have a host of presidents and each one will fight for his authority. Do we really need the Armed Forces to be dragged into this fight? That turn of events would be unacceptable.

In light of recent events, the minister stressed, we must ponder some law either on collective security or on joint defense. At present the country's surviving central management structures and the Defense Ministry are working on the draft of such a document.

In conditions where Union organs of power are virtually not operational, the most acceptable option is for Russia to allocate funds for the upkeep of the Army. But it is necessary to avoid a situation where servicemen have to choose between anyone. That is up to politicians, it is up to them to decide. It is up to Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister, to prevent the Army's being involved in political games.

Along with the draft agreement on a defensive union, a document is being formulated on the status of the Armed Forces on the territory of those republics that do not want to join the Commonwealth of Independent States. It will stipulate every nuance relating to issues of troop units staying outside the commonwealth.

All manner of attacks, for instance during the movement of individual military vehicles and small groups of servicemen, are regrettably an everyday reality at present in the Transcaucasus, particularly in Georgia. The defense minister has ordered the commander of the Transcaucasian Military District to ensure that such movements are escorted by an increased guard involving the use of armored vehicles. This measure is designed to avert more attacks.

During his meeting with journalists, Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov also broached an extremely delicate matter. It concerned the statement by Army General V. Lobov that appeared recently in some newspapers regarding his being relieved of the post of chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister. These articles are regrettable

since they present the readers with a version of the facts that has no bearing on reality, the defense minister said.

Various options were considered during the formulation of principled positions on the preparation and implementation of military reform and the radical transformation of the Armed Forces, including that to which Army Gen. V. Lobov adheres. After they had been carefully studied and discussed, the Defense Ministry Collegium adopted a decision, which the USSR defense minister reported back to the USSR State Council and the USSR president and which they then approved.

But even after this, Army Gen. V. Lobov, while giving his verbal agreement to this decision, in fact continued to pursue both in his practical work and in the mass media a line of breaking up the top echelon of the military command into two parallel structures—that is, a line that is not only objectively unproductive and threatens to remove the General Staff and Armed Forces from the defense minister's control, but also one that violates the principle of unity of command. In this context, despite the USSR defense minister's directive on radically reducing the numerical strength of and optimizing the central apparatus, steps were taken to excessively increase the staff of the General Staff chief's apparatus.

This seriously retarded the reform of the Armed Forces and brought about increasing disorganization in the work of the General Staff and the entire central apparatus and the disorientation of officer cadres. Naturally, this could not go on. In the course of a frank and comradely discussion, Vladimir Nikolayevich admitted the wrongfulness of his actions and agreed to submit a request to be relieved of his post. Some time later he said that he would not do that. However it is quite obvious that the decision to relieve Army Gen. V. Lobov of his post was essential and it was done.

The defense minister views attempts to hype up the situation and fuel unhealthy passions over it as unconstructive and unacceptable both morally and ethically and as far as responsibility for preserving the unity of the officers corps and stability within the Army and Navy are concerned—something that is important at this difficult time for the country and the Armed Forces.

Navy Registers Shareholding Company

LD1612185491 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Danilin]

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—To improve its financial position, the Soviet Navy decided to engage in business, and has registered the share-holding company Navycon. Admiral Igor Makhonin, the Navy's deputy commander for logistics and the company's board president, said the Navy holds the controlling interests of the company whose subsidiaries are joint stock companies of the fleets.

Makhonin said the company will be building production facilities to manufacture consumer goods and other industrial products.

The company also has plans to set up a commercial fleet, form transportation companies and build meat-packing plants and other food processing facilities.

The company will be buying material and technological equipment from various agencies of the Navy and from other services of the Armed Forces to be put to use in the national economy.

Makhonin said a Soviet-American agreement to build facilities for the construction of 30,000 apartments for naval officers, sailors, as well as workers and employers in the near future is near completion. There is also a programme to contribute to the pension fund.

Baltic Affairs

Security Seminar Opens in Vilnius

LD1712110591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] A seminar of the North Atlantic Assembly on the problems of the security of the Baltic states opened today in the conference hall of the Lietuva Hotel in Vilnius.

The seminar is being attended by representatives of the 16 Assembly member states, the delegations of the Baltic states, observers from Russia, the Ukraine, Belarus, NATO experts, deputy general secretary of the North Atlantic Assembly [name indistinct], representatives of the Soviet Armed Forces deployed in Lithuania, and commanders of the Chief of Staff of the Soviet Union's Ministry of Defense and of the northwestern Army groups.

The main topic of the seminar is European security and the Baltic states. Relations with the Soviet Union and its former republics, the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from the Baltic states, and the formation of the national military forces will be discussed.

The seminar was opened with a speech by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Coucil of the Republic of Lithuania. Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila is scheduled to speak at the seminar as well.

Embassies Picketed for Prisoners' Release

OW1612113191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] December 15th, the embassies of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were picketed in Moscow. According to employees in the Baltic representations, "from 20 to 400 people" took part in the picket line.

Speaking at a meeting of Soviet people's deputies, Viktor Alksnis, Yevgeniy Kogan, Nikolay Petrushenko and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Liberal-democratic party of the USSR, demanded the immediate release of Sergey Parfenov, deputy commander of the Rigan OMON [special purpose militia detachment] (special forces), Valeriy Ivanov, leader of the Lithuanian socio-political oreganization "Unity," activists from Intermovement and the Estonian strike committee Vladimir Lysenko and Igor Shepelvich and others. Those named are presently under arrest, accused of attempting a state revolution in the Baltics.

Sweden To Send 'Extensive Aid'

LD1512234791 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 1130 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] Sweden will send extensive aid to the Baltic peoples in the near future, but first emergency aid is needed. This was stated by Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas in the Riksdag today. In the January budget there are proposals for transferring know-how, financial aid, and measures to stimulate international aid to the Baltic peoples, the foreign minister said. An organization is to be set up to deal with the aid to the Baltic states.

Estonia

G-24 Countries Grant $5.2 Million in Aid

OW1712023291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting in Brussels, representatives from 24 most developed countries of the world (G-24) and the Baltics signed an agreement on giving 4 million ECU ($5.2 million) in aid to Estonia to help it carry out economic reform, Mehis Pilv, head of the Estonian Foreign Economic Department, told BF [BALTFAX] upon return from Brussels. He also said that Estonia had asked the West to provide medicines, food and fuel. "The request for medicines worth $7 million and 250,000 tons of grains was received with understanding. However, the question of fuel shipments has caused some problems", Mr. Pilv noted.

Aare Purga, Director of the Estonian foreign aid commission, told BF that Western financial aid will be used to carry out land reform and privatization, promote power engineering, transports and agriculture and to create the national banking system.

Government To Resign if Ministers 'Quit'

LD1412154091 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 14 Dec 91

[By correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn December 14 TASS—The resignation of the Edgar Savisaar government will be inevitable if six ministers, members of the Coalition Party of Estonia, quit the Cabinet.

The six ministers were proposed to decide on whether to stay in the party or in the government. [sentence as received]

This decision by the Coalition Party of Estonia was announced by its leader Jak Tamm. It was made soon after Tamm himself resigned from the post of the minister of industry and power engineering on December 12.

Latvia

Cooperation Declaration Signed With Belarus

LD1612230691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] Today, in Jurmala, Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of

Belarus, and Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, signed a joint declaration on the principles of good-neighborliness between Belarus and Latvia. The declaration states that, in the future, relations between the two states will (?observe) the already existing traditions of neighborly relations and international treaties: mutual recognition, respect, territorial inviolability, noninterference in the internal affairs of another state, and the principle of inviolability of those borders perceived as the main ones in Europe.

The declaration provides that Belarus and Latvia will promote cooperation in economics, politics, culture, and ecology, and, by mutual consultation, will coordinate their action at an international level regarding questions of mutual interest. Included is an undertaking to recognize the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic distinctiveness of the Latvians living in Belarus and the Belarussians living in Latvia, providing them with all the (?rights) enshrined in international documents on human rights, which assign the rights and [word indistinct] of both countries.

Speaking at a news conference today about the signing of the declaration and of the trade and economic treaty signed last week in Minsk, Anatolijs Gorbunovs said that we are moving toward the signing of international treaties. He cited the preparations and prior agreements necessary for such a treaty: the creation of consular relations between Belarus and Latvia; a treaty of cooperation between the Foreign Ministries; the delimination of borders and the ensuing demarcation; and a transit agreement assuring Belarus free access to the Baltic Sea. In the near future, a special commisson will be formed to coordinate the border question.

Stanislav Shushkevich, referring to a prior analysis, expressed the conviction that there will be no problems on this matter. The Belarus leader praised the concord in which the expert working groups had prepared the text of the declaration.

Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, believes that the Foreign Ministries should speedily work out the possible transfer from consular relations to international diplomatic relations, opening embassies in Riga and Minsk. In this connection, Stanislav Shushkevich explained that the choice of the Belarussian capital as the coordination center of the Commonwealth of Independent States means that the center of political gravity is to be transferred from Moscow to Minsk, because the Commonwealth of Independent States intends to conduct its work in accordance with the principles of the structure of the European Community. Under the Belarussian Citizenship Law, dual citizenship is not envisaged; therefore, all citizenship questions are to be settled with the assistance of separate international treaties.

Both the Latvian representatives and the Belarussian leader emphasized that the declaration will take effect in the next few days. The recently signed trade and economic treaty will come into effect on 1 January 1992, and for its effective realization, coordination of existing political and juridical questions is necessary.

Russia Fails To Deliver Products

LD1612072291 Riga Radio Riga International in English 0700 GMT 15 Dec 91

[Text] A Latvian delegation continued this week consultations on an interstate economic agreement with Russia in Moscow. The Latvian delegation, led by the newly appointed Minister of Economic Reforms Arnis Kalnins, earlier this week arrived in Moscow to continue consultations on the planned mutual economic agreement with Russia.

At the moment Russia has failed to deliver products and raw materials for about 800 million rubles to Latvia. Meanwhile, the Latvian part of agreed deliveries has been fulfilled. According to Latvian Government officials participating at the talks, the Russian side has demanded payments in hard currency for about 40 kinds of products and materials. The Russian side has simultaneously stressed that Latvian products are not demanded by Russia.

It follows from the talks, for the time being at least, that Latvian side is ready to also charge in hard currency for all goods and services delivered to Russia, including transit of Russian oil via Latvian ports.

Croatian Foreign Minister Ends Visit

LD1512215591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Dec 91

[Text] Dr. Zvonomir Separovic, minister of foreign affairs of Croatia, has ended his visit to Latvia. At the end of the visit a joint communique was issued stating that Latvia will take urgent measures to encourage other countries to recognize Croatia as soon as possible. It was stressed that the aggression against Croatia must be stopped and the search for a peaceful solution continued. An agreement was also reached to establish diplomatic and political relations.

Minister Separovic will arrive in Budapest later today where he and Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky are expected to sign an agreement under which Croatia, as a sovereign state, will join the Ukraine and Hungary in an agreement to protect national minorities. The two ministers will discuss developments surrounding the recognition of Croatia.

Food Prices Freed, Exports Controlled

PM1612112991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Irina Litvinova report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Latvia: Prices Set Free"]

[Text] Riga—Foodstuffs and other agricultural produce are being sold in Latvia at free prices. Alcohol is also included on the list of "free" products.

A special government resolution has imposed certain restrictions on trade markups—according to groups of commodities. A progressive tax on profits is to be directed against the diktat of monopoly prices. Parliament will examine it in the very near future.

Control over wages in economic enterprises has been abolished. As soon as the state's financial position permits, the government is ready to discuss a new minimum wage with the trade unions (it is now equivalent to 280 rubles in Latvia).

With high prices, there must be food in the stores. Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis has declared that this is one of the most important tasks in the price liberalization. Therefore rigid control over food exports from the republic is being introduced in Latvia. Licenses will only be valid with the signature of Godmanis himself. Control will be stepped up at Latvian customs posts.

Prime Minister Discusses Food Supplies

LD1612153391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Excerpt] On 12 December morning, after a night spent at a special government sitting, Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis will speak on the first and second programs of Latvian Radio. In this repeat of the "Review of the Past Day" program we quote part of this speech by Ivars Godmanis:

[Begin Godmanis recording] I returned in the evening from Belarus, and instantly a meeting of the Operational Committee was convened. We sat until virtually midnight, we surveyed (?the way that everything will have to start), and we analyzed, you could say, the weak spots and what we can expect in the near future.

I will speak about the positions we took in the talks: about bread, milk, meat products. In fact, task number one for us, which we will fulfill, is to reduce the price of bread. And so, in the near future, I would think today, tomorrow, or the day after, the price of bread will be reduced.

Now for the next issue: milk. Yesterday we analyzed the situation with milk. So, milk is being purchased, and Riga—I'm talking of Riga basically—the Riga milk combine is purchasing milk from the Riga region, getting it for two rubles a kilogram. And here (?two rayons are supplying about three percent) of raw materials, and (?what's needed are) amounts of about 100 tonnes. In fact, the demand in Riga is for more than 200. Two hundred twenty tonnes a day is necessary to be brought into Riga. Other combines are offering Riga milk for a price of (?2 to 4 rubles) a kilogram. At combine number 11, they were buying milk yesterday that cost. That milk only cost about three rubles. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Lithuania

Gorbachev Appoints New Delegation Head

LD1512092791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 14 Dec 91

[Excerpt] The Soviet Foreign Ministry has informed the Lithuanian mission in Moscow that President Gorbachev on 10 December changed the head of the delegation for negotiations with Lithuania. Eduard Shevardnadze has been replaced by Viktor Smolin, a senior Soviet diplomat. Professional diplomats have also been appointed to head the Soviet delegations in negotiations with Estonia and Latvia. Viktor Smolin is 60 and has the highest diplomatic rank—ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary. He is currently ambassador for special duties. Among other things, Viktor Smolin has participated in important Soviet-U.S. arms limitation talks. The Lithuanian parliament press attache, commenting on this new and yet another appointment of the head of the Kremlin delegation, said that the beginning of the negotiations has been delayed for such a long time that there is currently nobody to conduct negotiations with because there is no Soviet Union itself. [passage omitted]

Sajudis Urges Reinstitution of Presidency

LD1612133191 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius December 16 TASS—The Lithuanian nationalistic movement Sajudis has urged immediate presidential elections in the republic "to restore the institution of presidency in Lithuania".

The movement's congress, which decided to suspended its work on Sunday [15 December] until next week, instructed Sajudis to complete preparations for elections as soon as possible and called on its deputies in the republican parliament to support their demand.

Sajudis officials said they will vote for Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian parliament.

The congress proposed to extend administrative and territorial districts in the republic and introduce the institution of "prefects accountable to the president and representing him in all Lithuanian regions".

The congress also stressed the need to reduce the number of (?district) deputies to ensure effective and fruitful work.

Participants adopted a charter, which prohibits former heads of republican, district and city Communist Party

committees, former KGB agents and members of the Democratic Labour Party of Lithuania from membership in the movement.

The congress is expected to begin its work next week with debates on the movement's new programme.

Parliament Official Denies Links With KGB

LD1512163191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] Virgilijus Cepaitis, member of the parliament Presidium, who has been advised by the Supreme Council to resign because of his collaboration with the KGB, has stated that he never has been an informer of Soviet security or, furthermore, its agent, although he acknowledged having contacts with that service more than once.

As we have already reported, the parliament commission investigating KGB activity announced 10 December that Virgilius Cepaitis has been consciously collaborating with the KGB, and the deputies voted for a protocol decision proposing that he resign.

This evening [12 December], in his television speech, Virgilius Cepaitis stated that he did not intend to comply with this advice as these proposals have no legal foundation. He also stressed that the final word in this issue is with the people. Virgilius Cepaitis said that he did not harm any person in his testimonies other than himself. I hope that the procuracy and the court will examine my case basing themselves not on the copies of documents taken out from the middle of the case, but on a thorough analysis. Until this has been done, I have no right to resign, stated Virgilius Cepaitis.

Zigmas Vaisvila, Lithuanian deputy prime minister and the general director of the State Security Department, stated that steps to expose deputy Virgilius Cepaitis have been taken and this was known to the State Security Department last spring. In the opinion of Zigmas Vaisvila, the aim of this action is to overthrow Lithuanian parliament Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis.

"I think that this is the last attempt by the old nomenklatura to change the present leadership of the Republic of Lithuania and regain power", stated Zigmas Vaisvila in an interview with the daily LIETUVOS RYTAS.

Legislator Demands Resignation

OW1412180191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 14 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] Speaking on republican TV Friday [13 December], Deputy Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Kazimieras Motieka insisted that deputy Virgilius Cepaitis accused of working for the USSR KGB should resign. Mr. Motieka described Cepaitis' statement in which the latter expressed doubts about conclusions made by the commission investigating KGB activities in the republic as "provocative". [passage omitted]

International Affairs

More on Yeltsin-Baker Talks, News Conference

Baker Talks Summarized

LD1612143891

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1255 GMT on 16 December interrupts a music program to carry a four-minute telephone report by special correspondent Andrey Ptashnikov on the progress of Kremlin talks with Secretary of State Baker.

Ptashnikov begins by saying: "Talks began at precisely 1000. Well, it was the usual procedure. Journalists were only allowed into the hall for two to three minutes." He regrets that no one managed to ask a question and continues: "Nevertheless, we have received some kind of information, moreover, quite revealing information. As well as the Russian president and other Russian participants, USSR Defense Minister Shaposhnikov and USSR Interior Minister Barannikov were also at the negotiating table." This shows that these two ministries command the priority attention of the Russian leadership, he says.

Ptashnikov continues: "Now, as far as the actual conversation with Baker is concerned, it lasted over two and one-half hours, and that was the expanded sitting. And then Yeltsin and the secretary of state conversed for over an hour alone, with only interpreters present. So, in total the talks lasted almost four hours, instead of the two originally planned."

He goes on: "Well, what was discussed became known immediately after the conclusion of the conversation in the course of the impromptu joint news conference with Yeltsin and Baker. As it proved—Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin stated this—in all, the participants discussed over 20 questions, but there were three main ones: The situation in our country after the signing of the Beloverzhskoye agreement on the formation of a Commonwealth of Independent States, prospects for the provision of U.S. economic aid to us, and the problem of control over our nuclear weapons.

"The president of the RSFSR stated that on the 21 December the Beloverzhskoye agreement would be signed by a minimum of 10 former Soviet republics who are now independent states. So far, apart from the Baltic states, and also Georgia and Azerbaijan. [sentence as heard]

"A treaty on a defense union, the single command of strategic armed forces, in particular, air and sea forces, anti-aircraft defense, and also strategic nuclear missiles, tactical weapons and intelligence, will also be signed.

"The countries signing the agreement on independent states will observe the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and other accords in the sphere of disarmament, that is, those accords which were signed earlier."

Ptashnikov continues: "Besides this, future credits to our country and the possibilities of U.S. agricultural food aid, especially during the current winter period, including ways of delivering it and distributing it were discussed.

"One of the individual questions was the problem of Russia's place in the UN Organization and the UN Security Council, and diplomatic recognition of Russia in general." Asked by the announcer to round up the talks, Ptashnikov says: "You know, in literally a few minutes Baker's meeting with USSR President Gorbachev should begin. After it a brief news conference is also planned. Following this, Baker should be meeting with USSR Defense Minister Shaposhnikov and later this evening he should meet with USSR minister of external relations Shevardnadze, after which there should be one more news conference. So that's the program for today."

Nuclear Control Discussed

OW1612172291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At their talks in the Kremlin on Monday [16 December] Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker discussed some 20 issues. They concentrated on problems connected with nuclear arms and control over them, B. Yeltsin told reporters.

It was decided that Russia will temporarily remain a nuclear power, B. Yeltsin said. The remaining Soviet republics will sign an agreement on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and nuclear arms deployed on their soil will be eliminated in accordance with the Soviet-American agreements already signed. This relates primarily to the Ukraine and Belarus which have already declared that they will seek the nuclear-free status. As for Kazakhstan, the problem connected with nuclear arms on its soil will be resolved in the near future, said B. Yeltsin.

The process of forming the Commonwealth will take some time, said B. Yeltsin. It is likely to be concluded by mid-January. According to the Russian leader, by that time at least 10 Soviet republics will have joined the Commonwealth.

He hopes to see Moldova and Armenia within the Commonwealth, the Russian President told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent. According to him, only the 3 Baltic states, Georgia and Azerbaijan have not announced their intention to join the Commonwealth.

There are plans to reduce the joint strategic forces which will be in command of a military man, not the president of a sovereign state.

B. Yeltsin dismissed the news media allegations that he had discussed with the USSR Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov the possibility of appointing Mikhail Gorbachev as commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth's joint armed forces. He deeply respects the president of the former USSR, said B. Yeltsin, but Gorbachev himself will have to decide his destiny.

News Conference Held

LD1612184891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1730 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Remarks by Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin at news conference following talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Moscow on 16 December—recorded]

[Text] We had four hours of talks with Baker, Mr. Secretary of State of the United States of America. Here are the main principles we agreed upon, and we regard this as a common view shared by the representatives of the United States of America and Russia.

First: Russia is developing the Commonwealth. The agreement signed by the three independent states will be signed on the 21st by six more—that is to say a minimum of 10 states will have signed the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] agreement in December. We will develop our cooperation as equals.

We are also signing a Treaty on Defensive Alliance, which will have a unified command of the strategic armed forces, comprising the Air Force, the Navy, the Air Defense Forces, strategic nuclear missiles, tactical nuclear weapons and intelligence-gathering. We have agreed that, within the framework of the agreements and treaties that have already been signed, we will strive to ensure that all the four states should sign the treaty or join the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, that is the first thing, and that we should continue further to strive so that three of them are nuclear-free states for the time being, apart from Russia. [as heard]

We have agreed that with help, including that of the United States, we will implement the agreement already adopted, concerning the elimination of nuclear weapons, and that we shall sign an appropriate treaty. We have agreed on strict control so that nuclear technology and nuclear arms technology should not, under any circumstances, find themselves in other countries and that it should not be exported. We have also agreed that we will jointly exercise control over the safety of the nuclear facilities of any type that exist today.

In all, some 20 issues were examined, including food aid, especially during the winter period. This would involve the setting up of special sub-units and committees and organizing transport to transport food to the territory of Russia.

Further on Yelstin Statement

LD1612194691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1835 GMT 16 Dec 91

["Statement" delivered by RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin at the Kremlin on 16 December "following a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker"—recorded]

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen, we had four hours of talks with U.S. Secretary of State Baker, U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Robert Strauss, and with other members of the U.S. delegation. Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the government; Shaposhnikov, defense minister of the former USSR; Barannikov, minister of internal affairs of the former Union; Kozyrev, Russia's foreign minister; and Kolosovskiy, our permanent representative in the United States, participated on our side. [passage omitted]

As regards questions of open land areas—Mr. Baker's idea, which has been voiced on several occasions, about opening up our closed oblasts and towns—we already are conducting work on this, and around 15 such regions are now open. We examined questions concerning the recognition of Russia by the United States as an independent state, and Russia's joining the UN Organization, and, accordingly, by agreement with the other republics, that Russia should occupy the seat that becomes vacant on the Security Council.

We also examined questions of credits, questions concerning prospects for our further relations and cooperation, and for the conclusion of a direct treaty between the United States and Russia, and also a number of other issues. I will not list all 20 of them for you. Understanding of the processes now taking place in our country and for the willingness for cooperation directly with Russia, but apparently also with other member states of the Commonwealth. [sentence as heard]

As far as Ukraine and Belarus are concerned, they already have stated that they want to be nonnuclear states, and their nuclear weapons will not, therefore, be transferred to Russia, but will be destroyed under those treaties and agreements already in existence between the former Union and the United States. As for Kazakhstan, it still remains for us and for them to conduct joint talks within the context of the Commonwealth, so that they might also, let us say, embark on that path.

Gorbachev Not To Be Supreme Commander

LD1612221691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Correspondent V. Beletskiy report on a Moscow news conference given by RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on 16 December; Yeltsin's recorded remarks contained within quotation marks; from the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Good evening. Talks were held today in the Kremlin's Saint Catherine's Hall between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

[Beletskiy] The talks lasted three hours and were very intense. After all, around 20 different issues were discussed, most of which formerly came within all-union competence. Among them were the safety of and control over nuclear weapons, relations between the republics, matters of credit, and free access to formerly closed regions. The sides decided to set up a special transport subdivision to transfer foodstuffs and medicines to Russia in order to provide emergency humanitarian aid, particularly during the winter period. The first batch arrives tomorrow.

A personal conversation between Yeltsin and Baker followed, lasting almost an hour. At the end of this conversation, the Russian president and U.S. secretary of state met the press.

[Yeltsin] "The agreement signed by the three independent states will be signed on the 21st by six more—that is to say, a minimum of 10 states will have signed the Commonwealth of Independent States agreement in December. We will develop our cooperation as equals. We are also signing a treaty on a defensive alliance, which will have a unified command of the strategic armed forces, comprising the Air Force, the Navy, the Air Defense Forces, strategic nuclear missiles, tactical nuclear weapons, and intelligence gathering."

[Beletskiy] Yeltsin stressed that the issue of using nuclear weapons would be discussed by the highest leaders of the four republics having nuclear weapons on their territory and also with the supreme commander. Nuclear weapons would be launched from a single center. The commander in chief is to be a military person, subordinate to the decisions of the council of heads of state. In answer to a question as to who is to be commander in chief, the Russian president said:

[Yeltsin] "I wish to repudiate the media statements yesterday and this morning's television reports that, allegedly, I discussed the issue of Gorbachev's being supreme commander with Shaposhnikov. There has been no conversation even approaching this. Quite simply I feel embarrassed for the media, Russia's 'Vesti' included."

[Beletskiy] Talking about the discussion of the Nonproliferation Treaty, Yeltsin said that all four states with nuclear weapons on their territory will join the treaty, and in the future will strive to make three of them—not including Russia for the moment—nonnuclear states.

[Yeltsin] "As far as Ukraine and Belorus are concerned, they have already stated that they want to be nonnuclear states, and their nuclear weapons will not, therefore, be transferred to Russia, but will be destroyed under those treaties and agreements already in existence between the former Union and the United States. As for Kazakhstan, it still remains for us and them to conduct joint talks within the context of the commonwealth, so that they might also, let us say, embark on that path."

[Beletskiy] Russia, Yeltsin stressed, will comply with agreements to destroy nuclear weapons, and will do so partly with help from the United States, and will also maintain rigorous control over nuclear technology.

[Yeltsin] "We examined questions concerning United States recognition of Russia as an independent state, and Russia's joining the UN Organization, and accordingly, by agreement with the other republics, that Russia should occupy the seat that becomes vacant on the Security Council."

[Beletskiy] James Baker stated that on his return to Washington he would immediately report on the results of his conversations to President Bush, including the recognition of individual republics.

UN, U.S. Recognition Viewed

LD1612183291 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Report by TASS diplomatic correspondents Andrey Pershin and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—The nuclear push-button will be reliably protected in the Commonwealth of Independent States, Russian President Boris Yeltsin told U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who had come on a working visit to the Soviet Union to see if he could allay the U.S. Administration's fears for the fate of nuclear arsenals on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

Yeltsin and Baker met journalists after nearly four hours of talks which spanned a range of about 20 major issues. The joint news conference was held in the grand Kremlin palaces, St. Vladimir's Hall.

The Russian president said another six republics of the former Soviet Union would sign the agreement on membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States on December 21. By the end of December, the new Commonwealth is expected to have at least 10 members. They will sign a treaty on the defence union to be headed by the Joint Command of Strategic Forces, which is due to replace the present Defence Ministry of the USSR.

The strategic arm will comprise the Airforce, the Navy, the Anti- Aircraft Defence Group, Strategic and Tactical Nuclear Forces and the intelligence service.

"We shall work to get all four nuclear republics of the former union to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, with three of them, except Russia for the time being, becoming nuclear-free states. Yeltsin said that Ukraine and Belarus have already announced their desire to become non-nuclear states. Their nuclear arms will not be transferred to Russia but eliminated within the framework of the agreements and treaties with the

United States, signed by the former Soviet Union. The issue has yet to be discussed with Kazakhstan.

Should a state of emergency arise, the decision to use strategic forces will be made by the leaders of the four nuclear republics together with the supreme commander. The order to push the button and launch nuclear missiles can only come from the single centre.

Yeltsin denied news media reports that he and Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov had discussed Mikhail Gorbachev's candidature for the post of the supreme commander. According to Yeltsin, this post should be filled by a military man who will obey the orders of the council of the heads of state of the Commonwealth's member-countries.

Yeltsin said he respected Mikhail Gorbachev. "As regards his further destiny, it is for him personally to determine," he stressed.

The Russian president told journalists that he and Baker had discussed recognition of Russia as an independent state and its possible membership in the United States [as received], including the replacement of the former Soviet Union in the U.N. Security Council.

James Baker added that he had discussed with the Russian president problems of security, nuclear control and management, and aid to Russia during this winter.

He noted that one of the aims of his forthcoming trip to Kiev was to discuss prospects for the U.S. recognition of Ukraine as an independent state. The similar question was raised with regard to Russia on Sunday, Baker said, and talks were already underway.

Baker said that he would report on the matter to President George Bush as soon as he returns to Washington. He said there existed a number of considerations to be kept in mind when making decisions of this kind.

Interior Ministry, TV Discussed

OW1612191591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1747 GMT 16 Dec 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" Feature; by correspondents Igor Porshnev and Mikhail Mayorov; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A defensive union treaty is to be signed within the context of the Commonwealth of Independent Countries, said Russian President Boris Yeltsin after a four-hour meeting with the US Secretary of State James Baker on December 16.

According to Mr. Yeltsin, the treaty will create a united command of the strategic armed forces that will include the navy, air-defense, air forces, strategic nuclear arms, tactical nuclear weapons and intelligence services. The forces will be under a commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth who will be answerable to the Council of the Heads of States.

The Commonwealth's strategic Armed Forces will be built on the basis of the existing Soviet Defense Ministry, emphasized the Russian president. As far as the destiny of the Union Interior Ministry is concerned, it will not exist in the Commonwealth, and the existing ministerial structures will become part of the Russian Interior Ministry. The Central TV will also belong to Russia, said Mr. Yeltsin.

Mr. Yeltsin denied mass media reports that he had discussed with the defense minister of the former USSR Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov (who, by the way, was a member of the "Russian delegation" at the talks with Mr. Baker) the candidacy of Mr. Gorbachev as a possible commander-in-chief of of the strategic armed forces of the Commonwealth. (Mr. Yeltsin emphasized his profound respect for the president of the former USSR, but said that Mr. Gorbachev must decide himself what he will occupy himself with).

Mr. Yeltsin made it a point to cover the "nuclear button" mechanism. According to him, "in an emergency, all four Soviet nuclear powers will be consulted (Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and Kazakhstan), plus the commander-in-chief. The launch may only be performed from one centre."

According to Mr. Yeltsin, his talks with Mr. Baker touched on an agreement of what to be done with the Soviet nuclear arms. The parties insisted that all four nuclear republics of the former Union to join the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and that three of them, temporarily excluding Russia, become non-nuclear states.

The Russian president reminded that Ukraine and Belarus had already proclaimed their desire to become non-nuclear states. Due to this, the nuclear weapons on their territories will be destroyed under the agreements and treaties the former USSR and the USA already have, not shipped to Russia. As for Kazakhstan, said Mr. Yeltsin, corresponding talks are in order within the context of the Commonwealth to force it to follow the example of Ukraine and Belarus.

More than 20 issues were discussed at the Moscow talks, including a diplomatic recognition of Russia by the United States, noted Mr. Yeltsin. According to him, Russia would not only want to join the UN, but, "in consultation with the other republics", to replace the non-existent USSR in the Security Council.

This issues must have come as a surprise to Mr. Baker who promised to report to President Bush and to hold consultations before a decision could be taken.

Norway Recognizes Russia as Sovereign State

LD1612222991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Report by correspondent A. Peslyak; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Peslyak] The Norwegian ambassador has just handed to Minister Kozyrev the document officially recognizing Russia as a sovereign state. Our northern neighbor thus becomes Russia's first diplomatic partner, cutting through for it a window into Europe. It is worth remembering—as was done by the ambassador of the kingdom—that in 1905:

[D. Stenseth, Norwegian ambassador to the USSR] Russia was the first power to recognize Norway as a sovereign state, and we have the same intention and wish to develop our relations in a positive and strong direction.

[Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev] This is indeed a historic moment. Historic traditions of European good-neighborliness are being reborn. Diplomatic recognition of Russia will increase in the near future.

[Peslyak] This is needed, not for reasons of prestige and new embassies, but for a responsible attitude toward human rights and toward our basic obligations in the Helsinki spirit.

Kozyrev: Honecker Issue Between Germany, Chile

LD1612190991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Network in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] The German Government must contact the Chilean Embassy in Moscow to find a way out of the situation resulting from Erich Honecker's presence there, according to RSFSR Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. He was speaking in an interview to RIA [Russian Information Agency].

The minister recalled that on 14 December, Honecker was handed a protocol granting him an additional period of time to make a voluntary decision about going to Germany, because this is demanded both by international law and RSFSR legislation. As Kozyrev noted, Russia has no grounds for granting Honecker political asyslum, as this is possible only when unlawful measures are being taken against someone, or they are persecuted for their beliefs. The issue in the present case, the Russian minister continued, is not political persecution, but the fact that Honecker is being charged with giving orders which manifestly exceeded his official capacity, even at the time, to fire on unarmed people. No force is being used with regard to Honecker in Russia. He is free to leave the Chilean Embassy in Moscow, where he is a guest of the ambassador, and no one will try to take him into custody because this is not provided for by legislation.

At the present time, however, Kozyrev noted, a difficult situation has arisen whereby, on the one hand, government decisions have to be fulfilled and obligations toward Germany met, and, on the other, as is known, Honecker has said that he is prepared to kill himself if attempts are made to take him to Germany by force. Given the deadlock over this, Kozyrev believes, only the German authorities can decide whether or not to take measures to force Honecker to return to Germany.

Kozyrev stated that the option also is being mooted of taking Honecker from the Chilean Embassy and handing him over to the DPRK authorities through its embassy in Moscow, so that he can leave for medical treatment in North Korea. This option, the minister said, is attractive in that it would make it possible to get rid of the problem. But a question of responsibility arises inasmuch as Honecker could be treated in Germany and Russia alike. As far as Kozyrev is aware, the Chileans will not try to evict Honecker from their embassy. If that is the case, the Russian Federation has nothing to do with it, and it is thus a matter for Chile and Germany.

Khasbulatov, DPRK Envoy Discuss Honecker

LD1612232991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] The government of North Korea has taken the idea very seriously of granting political asylum to Erich Honecker. Yesterday, we said that so far there had been no official response to this proposal, and today the ambassador of the Korean People's Democratic Republic visited Ruslan Khasbulatov:

[Khasbulatov] The ambassador expressed the hope that ties will... [changes thought] that is to say a certain concern about the disintegration of the Union and the way in which Russia intends to implement our obligations under the alliance and our ties in future. We examined, well, we did not actually examine, we exchanged opinions about the program for the possible development of nuclear weapons.

Here in the Russian parliament, we are straightforward about this: we are of course tough champions of the idea of the non- proliferation of nuclear weapons.

[Unidentified correspondent] At today's session, there was also talk of the possibility of handing Erich Honecker over to North Korea. Ruslan Khasbulatov told the ambassador that the government of Russia should deal with this issue, though he did give his own personal view to our program:

[Khasbulatov] I personally would give that permission. I do not consider this to be an issue of politics. Generally speaking, it is quite unfortunate that our government has ended up implicated in the fuss surrounding this Honecker. I feel indignant even that this question has been brought up at the political level.

Delegation Head Interviewed on Visit to PRC

OW1512033191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 2200 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Interview with Lukin, head of a delegation from the Committee of International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, by station reporter Kalibov; place and date not given; from the "Hello China" program]

[Text] A delegation from the Supreme Soviet of Russia returned to Moscow from Beijing on Friday [13 December] evening after concluding a visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese National People's Congress [NPC]. Following is station reporter Kalibov's interview with Lukin, head of the delegation as well as chairman of the Committee of International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations of the Supreme Soviet of Russia:

[Kalibov] In your opinion, what is the primary outcome of the Russian parliamentary delegation's visit to China?

[Lukin] In discussing the outcome of the visit, I would like to point out that this is the first visit to China by a Russian parliamentary delegation, and it took place at a very difficult time when our country was experiencing a complex process and was being closely watched by China. It was only natural that both sides would like to ask a question, that is, what impact the changes in our country will have on bilateral relations. Therefore, the main purpose of the visit was to explain to the Chinese leaders in clear-cut terms that we do not regard the development of relations with China as a measure of expediency. We intend to implement to the letter the principles initiated by the [words indistinct] of the two countries at the Beijing and Moscow summits. We intend to abide by and enhance the spirit of the two Soviet-Chinese communiques, and continually advance along the road of constructive relations. Of course grave obstacles remain on our road of advance, because our country's economy is undergoing reform and internal relations are also changing.

During the bilateral talks in Beijing, we discussed the issue of establishing new economic relations between Russia and China. Our visit is a political success. All items on the agenda have been completed. We delivered President Yeltsin's letter to Wu Xueqian, and a letter containing concrete proposals for developing ties between the two parliaments from (Bulatov) to Wan Li. We also invited the Chinese NPC to send a delegation to visit Russia; the invitation was accepted in principle. The visit will take place probably in the early summer of next year. We believe that the most important outcome of the visit is that we clearly explained to the Chinese that we intend to continuously develop relations with China on a non-ideological basis. I would like to emphasize that we have reached an understanding on this issue.

[Kalibov] Would you please describe the Chinese side's reaction to the internal changes in our country?

[Lukin] Naturally the Chinese side adopted a prudent attitude. As neighbors, China and Russia will be affected by events taking place in each other's country. Therefore, under the current situation, a question will inevitably arise: How events in our country will affect the Chinese attitude toward relations with us. We noticed China's sympathy with us and earnest hopes that our country will be able to coordinate its economic and political activities. We also noticed Chinese worries that the process in our country may develop out of control. This is because, viewing our country as a nuclear power, the Chinese worried about the extent of order and discipline in the military field. Another reason for Chinese concern is that the events in our country are drastically changing the situation in the Asian-Pacific Region and the world as a whole, and the exit of one of the two superpowers will leave the other one with no rival, thus further changing the situation in various fields. Based on this view, our Chinese comrades do not believe that changes will take place in their favor. All these worries are reasonable. We should not complain but should express our understanding about such worries. We should try our best to steer our domestic situation into a smooth political orbit as soon as possible so that relations between the two countries can become stable and solidified.

Finally I would like to point out: There are ephemeral as well as perennial languages. Ephemeral language is invariably intended for ideological use. However, Chinese and Russian are the perennial languages used by the great peoples and created by the great civilizations. What we will give to our future generations, how we will build our relations, and how we can overcome difficulties and obstacles will depend on many factors. We should be prudent and sober-minded in continuously accelerating the process of complex events so that we will have no qualms before future generations. This is a matter of concern for Chinese as well as Russian statesmen. I and my colleagues are determined to try our utmost. Here I would like to remind hot-headed people: Do not act hastily. Also, do not have blind trust that whatever one says today is the ultimate truth. It is necessary to view ourselves as representatives of the people of two great neighbors, not expedient (?functions).

No Kuril Settlement Seen in 'Near Future'

OW1712092791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0823 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sergey Mikhailov, head of the Subcommittee for the Asian-Pacific Region of the Russian parliament's International Affairs Committee, has described the new wave of protests in the Far East against the transfer of four Kuril islands to Japan as "total speculation." He observed that "certain groups have been trying to unfold a major protest campaign by harping on the Russian people's ethnic self-awareness and general dissatisfaction with the crisis in the country."

Mr. Mikhailov told IF [INTERFAX] that the Kuril dispute "cannot be settled in either side's favor in the near future," since the islands' transfer to Japan would be sure to face resistance from the local population. The RSFSR Foreign Ministry disregarded the fact that the Kuril people had been "oversensitive to any debate over the matter," Mr. Mikhailov said and added that it would be important to have the Russian administration recognize the existence of a Kuril problem and launch negotiations with a view to settling it.

Sakhalin Oblast Chairman Cited

LD1512173491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo, 10 Dec (TASS)—If the sovereignty of Japan over the "northern territories" is recognized, Tokyo will treat their present residents "with sincere and warm feelings". This was stated by Michio Watanabe, Japanese deputy prime minister and foreign minister, during a conversation in Tokyo today with Anatoliy Aksenov, chairman of Sakhalin Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, who is in Japan at the invitation of the leadership of the governing Liberal-Democratic Party. The head of the Japanese foreign policy department stressed a striving toward the speediest solution of the territorial problem.

Setting forth his position with regard to the settlement of the long-standing argument over the ownership of the group of islands belonging to the southern part of the Kuril Ridge, which are being disputed by Japan and the Soviet Union, A.P. Aksenov pointed out that this problem should be approached from the viewpoint of international law and its historical aspect should be studied by specialists. At the same time, he stressed the need to take into account today's realities which, in particular, amount to the opposition of Soviet public opinion to the handover of the islands.

"The Japanese people, said the head of the Sakhalin Oblast Soviet in his interview to a TASS correspondent, has been taught in such a way as to believe that this is its own territory. Our people, on the other hand, were taught to understand that these have been Russian territories since time immemorial. The feeling today is such that we have no right to return them".

A.P. Aksenov reported that quite recently a committee on the Kuril problem, of which he is head, was recently created within the framework of the Sakhalin Oblast Soviet. Hundreds of letters addressed to this committee have been received, not only from the Far East and other regions of Russia, but also from other republics. Out of them only 14 authors have supported the idea of the transfer or sale of the South Kurils to the Japanese. The vast majority are categorically against it.

Anatoliy Aksenov warned Tokyo against the attempts to use the hardships which the country is experiencing at the moment in order to exert pressure on the Soviet Union in the territorial issue. "People react sharply to putting the question in this way", he said. During a discussion of the situation in the USSR, which took place at today's meeting, Michio Watanabe pointed to the need for stability within the internal situation as soon as possible in order to give Japan an opportunity to provide emergency aid. The Sakhalin leader, in his turn, said that he is against the disintegration of the Union, although a return to the old Union is impossible.

The two sides agreed about the necessity of activating exchanges between the inhabitants of Sakhalin oblast and Japan. In particular, Michio Watanabe talked about the intention to invite a group of Sakhalin legislators and journalists to Japan. Just recently, the Hokkaido administration announced its plans to invite two physicians from Sakhalin next year for advanced training in Japan.

EEC To Fund Voronezh Development Program

PM1612112791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Valeriy Mirolevich report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "West Funds Regional Project"]

[Text] Voronezh—News has come from Brussels: After examining a Voronezh project for the development of the region's business and economy, a session of the EEC adopted a decision to fund it.

Some $7.5 million has been allocated gratis to implement the first stage of the project. The 12 programs which make it up are aimed at creating a system of market mechanisms which would make it easier for the oblast's enterprises and organizations to join the free enterprise system. In addition to setting up a special news agency and an innovations exchange, provision is made for the conversion of educational programs of higher educational institutions: The training of cadres for the market economy will be conducted by attracting teachers from the best high schools in Europe.

Regional Affairs

Popov Tenders Resignation as Moscow Mayor

Cites Opposition to Privatization

LD1512153991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1445 GMT 15 Dec 91

[Report by Correspondent Kirill Shakhnovich from the inaugural congress of the Russian Democratic Movement in Moscow on 15 December]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In his speech, Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov recalled that it was necessary to distinguish attitudes to the Russian leadership and attitudes to the Russian president. After that Popov, who is mayor of Moscow and a member of the Political Council of the

Movement for Democratic Reforms, made a very important statement; I hope we are going to be first with the news: He announced his resignation as mayor. I will quote Gavriil Kharitonovich:

I have been thinking about this for the last three months. I discussed this with Yeltsin yesterday [14 December]. The Moscow City Soviet and the Russian Government are opposed to the privatization of trade and housing in the law on the status of Moscow. All this leads me to the conclusion that to stay on as mayor would mean giving Muscovites hopes that should not be raised. I do not have the right to fight the Russian leadership; I propose compromises.

He proposed the compromise of taking Moscow out of Russian reforms, and allowing it to pursue its own blueprint.

That was not accepted, said Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov in conclusion, explaining his resignation.

The inaugural congress of the Movement for Democratic Reforms, which ends today, now has adopted its rules and a policy statement, and the Movement for Democratic Reforms thus has been officially established in our country. [passage omitted]

Further Reasons Explained

LD1512224591

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 15 December, in its regular "Vesti" newscast, broadcasts a one-minute item on the Democratic Movement [DRM] Congress held today in Moscow, during which Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov announced his resignation from that post. The report states that the day started relatively calmly. Correspondent A. Pishchayev says that speakers spoke against confrontation. However, Travkin, head of the Russian Democratic Party, was attacked by Shatalin, chairman of the DRM Consultative Council, and then by his deputy Aleksandr Kerikhov, who said that the protest meeting against the Belovezhskaya agreement put the party on a par with Zhirinovskiy, Baburin, and Andreyev.

Pishchayev goes on to say that the delegates were shocked by Moscow Mayor Popov's statement that he was resigning. Popov says:

"I cannot work in conditions in which I cannot implement what I promised to the electors. If I am to put it very briefly, I did not come here to hold on to my desk, sit in a fine office, travel in flashy cars. I undertook certain commitments at the elections and I must carry them out. If I cannot do that, then it is my obligation, my duty, to give up."

Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2100 GMT on 15 December, again in the "Vesti" newscast, adds to this with a brief interview with Popov by an unidentified correspondent. Popov says:

"Is this not clear each day in the newspapers, when the city duma or a presidium of the soviet is called immediately after each decision, and completely the opposite decision is made three hours later? Such a time has come when Muscovites must resolve their fate. We must leave the state sectors, we must put our money into shops, sometimes our last....

The correspondent, interrupting, asks: "How does the Moscow mayor intend to occupy himself?"

Popov, laughing, replies: "I am probably one of the first political figures in the Soviet Union who lived better before he took up politics, and will live better after he finishes with it."

Reform Problems Viewed

LD1612173591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Excerpts] We have already reported that Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov has threatened to resign. He refused to be interviewed. A news conference is planned for tomorrow. Political differences between Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president, and the Moscow soviet with regard to issues of privatization of housing and small-scale enterprises are named as the reasons for a possible and highly probable resignation.

Our correspondent Andrey Zenkov met with Sergey Stupar, a press secretary of Moscow's mayor:

[Begin Stupar recording] Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov has already informed Boris Yeltsin; he also did this in his interview—if the RSFSR Government is to continue its present policy, and if it fails to undertake steps necessary for implementing fundamental reforms in Moscow, he will be unable to carry out his duties and fulfil the promises he gave to his voters with regard to implementing the reforms which are necessary in Moscow. We are talking here about the program of the RSFSR Government, which is currently engaged in preparing a package of reforms. You know that they have yet again been postponed. This means that Moscow loses yet more millions of rubles, hundreds of millions of rubles, due to the daily postponement of price increases, the introduction of free trade, and other necessary documents. This is only one point.

The other point is that the reorganization of the political system of power, which is necessary, is not being carried out. In this particular case it means that the mayor's office functions in Moscow along with rayon soviets and the Moscow Soviet. The mayor's office makes one decision, and the Moscow Soviet, or the small house as it currently calls itself, makes a decision which is quite opposite to the one made by the mayor's office. At the same time rayon soviets continue to function. They are practically engaged in hindering the implementation of fundamental reforms in Moscow and they speak against

the Moscow mayor It is only the mayor who is accused of all Moscow's problems. [passage omitted]

The statement made yesterday at a congress of the Democratic Reforms Movement was a political statement. No such statement has yet been made in organizational terms. But it seems that if there is no change in the situation, it will be made in the near future. It may be a matter of several weeks. [end recording]

'Confident' Reforms To Continue

LD1612191191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] The Moscow Soviet is one of the main reasons for my resignation, Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov told a TASS correspondent. He once again confirmed his decision to withdraw from the office of head of the capital at a meeting today with journalists, which was held at the mayor's offices.

In answer to the question as to what would happen to the reforms which the city's administration has begun to implement one after the other this year and which have not yet taken firm root or produced tangible results, Gavriil Popov said, I am confident that reforms will take place regardless of my resignation and irrespective of who is in charge. The only question is which reforms and when. As for the programs put forward by departments of the mayor's office, it is precisely because I cannot put these into effect that I am resigning.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1803 GMT on 16 December adds: "In his words, Popov will remain on his post until the end of this year."]

Khasbulatov Criticizes Resignation

LD1612192391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, head of the parliament of Russia, negatively assessed the statement by Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov on his intention to resign. In an interview with journalists, he noted that Popov is acting wrongly in the present situation.

Incidentally, the Moscow Soviet phoned us with the following information: Yuriy Sedykh Bondarenko, deputy chairman of the Moscow Soviet, will hold a meeting tomorrow, 17 December at 1900 in the Krasnyy Hall of the Moscow Soviet with voters and Muscovites. At this meeting, he will speak of the situation in the mayor's office and in the Moscow Soviet and will also give details of Gavriil Popov's resignation.

Denies Differences With Yeltsin

LD1612223991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] The congress of the Movement for Democratic Reforms, which has concluded its work in Moscow, backed the initiative to create a Commonwealth of Independent States, while calling for the new interstate association to be given a democratic content and a guarantee of human rights in all fields. Our correspondent V. Perfilyev reports from the movement's concluding news conference:

[Perfilyev] The movement has no task other than to unite the democratic forces of the country. This is what Arkadiy Volskiy told the journalists. The congress, which represented more than 30 parties and 70 public organizations, all the former union republics and 15 autonomous republics, elected seven cochairmen. They are Aleksandr Yakovlev, Eduard Shevardnadze, Stanislav Shatalin, Arkadiy Volskiy, Gavriil Popov, Anatoliy Sobchak, and Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy.

Journalists were quite naturally interested in the issue of the resignation of Moscow's mayor, Gavriil Popov.

[Begin Popov recording] It is not expedient to discuss this issue here. There is to be a special news conference, apparently on Wednesday [18 December] [as heard], and we can discuss it thoroughly there. I can say that nothing has changed, but let's not deal with this today. [end recording]

[Perfilyev] Popov's resignation was not really discussed, but we managed to obtain an exclusive interview:

[Begin recording] [Perfilyev] After the news conference you confirmed your intention to resign. What are your reasons?

[Popov] To put it briefly, the reason is that I found it hard to fulfil the obligations I assumed when elected, in the situation that has developed. First, there was a problem in that the Moscow City Soviet didn't work efficiently, and I was its chairman. Then I was elected mayor and came to power. The situation in the town is such that any decision that we make is blocked by deputies to the rayon soviets and the city soviet. As soon as we manage to adopt a document we have signed, you can be quite sure that in three hours' time, a different one will be signed on behalf of the city. I wish to stress one thing. Yesterday [15 December], I think, it was announced in a Russian television program that my resigntion is linked to differences of opinion with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I categorically deny this. Relations between us are quite normal. I have discussed this problem with him several times. I repeat that if the deputies of Moscow were reelected, and the deputies of Moscow gave active backing to reform, if there were no divergences of opinion, then I think the position of the Russian parliament would also be different and the progress of events in this sphere would be different. [end recording]

'Heavy Blow' to Democratic Movement

LD1712111391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Commentary by economic observer Yevgeniy Gandmakher]

[Text] How has it happened that a person elected to his post by the Muscovites only half a year ago is resigning now?

Popov himself refers to his differences with the Russian leadership and expreses his dissatisfaction with the Moscow Soviet's actions and in the final analysis speaks of the state of his health.

But it seems to me that these reasons do not explain the essence of what has happened. It is something quite different. Popov's resignation once again stresses the need for the generation of people who were young in the sixties to leave active political life.

Let's give them their due. It is these people formed by the 20th CPSU Congress who became the fathers, the initiators of perestroyka. Among the biggest personalities suffice it to name Gorbachev, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Shevardnadze. But now they are moving out the game, whether they want it or not.

Why is this happening? The time is making quite definite, tough demands on those leaders who can still count on something: First, an absolute consciousness of the market. Those who were young in the sixties, whatever they say, are supporters of socialism with a human face. Second, political pragmatism. Those who were young in the sixties continue to adapt life to those schemes which they have in their heads. Third, a completely new view of geopolitics. Those who were young in the sixties are unable to resign themselves to the conversion of the union from a superpower to the Commonwealth of Independent States.

We see the titanic efforts which the Russian president is making to be equal to the task. One can only sympathize with Boris Nikolayevich, who has completely recast his attitudes after decades in—to use Popov's words—the administrative system.

Everything said above about those who were young in the sixties being doomed fully applies to Gavriil Kharitonovich [Popov] too, even though at first glance this is not so. It would seem obvious that Popov is a marketeer. However, all his innovation as Moscow's mayor boiled down to apparatus transformations which did not all influence the creation of a market climate. Let's recall the intention to privatize housing free of charge, which in the final analysis is advantageous first of all to the old "establishment".

Popov's decisive—it would seem—intention to privatize trade is now being looked upon as one more ground for resignation—look how they are preventing me from making reforms. But there simply was no need to invent a bicycle but to make full use of the possibilities of the Russian laws—then there would be no conflicts between the mayor's office and the Moscow Soviet. But on the other hand the area where the mayor displayed genuine energy and push was in dividing up the premises which were vacated in Moscow after the withering away of the union and international structures. And his passion in creating administrative districts in the city inevitably evoked associations with his notorious administrative system.

Popov's resignation is quite natural. However, in the process the democratic movement is receiving a heavy blow. The leader elected with its assistance acknowledges his own lack of power and accuses his allies of yesterday of his fiasco. I am afraid that Muscovites, worn out by waiting for changes for the better, will lose faith even more in their new leaders. Such is the price of the change of generations on Russia's political scene.

Moscow Police Chief To Resign With Mayor

OW1612214091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Arkadiy Murashev, chief of the Moscow police, has said he will tender his resignation together with Mayor Gavriil Popov. In his interview for IF [INTERFAX], Mr. Murashev said that Mr. Popov had announced his resignation Sunday [15 December] because the law on Moscow's status, passed on the first reading by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, actually "restores Soviet rule and scraps the Mayor's Office and the city government."

Mr. Murashev indicated that the law's final passing would compel not only him but also all the other heads of the city's executive power to resign. The main stumbling block, according to Murashev, is the rate of the reform campaign in Moscow: Under Russia's law it shall be simultaneous with the provincial reforms, whereas most Muscovites are insisting it should be faster than elsewhere in the country. This was what the Moscow electorate voted for when they introduced the Mayor's post.

According to Arkadiy Murashev, Mr. Popov's resignation application is the last call on Russia's President and Supreme Soviet to take resolute steps to strengthen the Moscow administration and cancel the effect of the RSFSR law on local self- government on the city's territory. Appropriate amendments should be made also with regard to the privatization law so as to empower the Mayor's Office to pursue its own policy in this sphere. In the latter event, Mr. Popov could withdraw his resignation application and stay in office as Moscow Mayor, Mr. Murashev.

On Monday, A. Murashev was invited to a meeting of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to report on the state of affairs in the City Department of the Interior.

Murshev To Remain Militia Head

OW1412032791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 14 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting of the leadership of Moscow, at which the work of the city police was discussed, the mayor and the head of the Moscow government expediently decided that Arkadiy Murashev should continue to work as head of the Moscow City Interior Management, discounting the pretensions expressed by the government of Moscow. A letter from the Moscow government addressed to the Mayor, in which the work of the police was criticized, was the topic of the meeting. It was decided that there were not only personal reasons for problems with the police, but objective reasons as well.

New Moscow Oblast Government Created

LD1512062691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 13 Dec (TASS)—By a resolution of Anatoliy Tyazhlov, the head of the Moscow Oblast administration, a government has been formed for this region. As was reported today by the Moscow Oblast press center, this government has the status of a collective administration body. Its resolutions are to be binding for executive bodies at all levels and for all economic subjects in Moscow Oblast that fall within the limits of responsibility granted to the oblast's administration by RSFSR legislation.

Moscow Soviet, City Hall Agree on Privatization

PM1312161591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Dec 91 Union Edition p 3

[V. Belikov report: "The Privatization of Moscow Trade Will Continue If Russia's Parliament Takes the Capital's Specific Features Into Consideration"]

[Text] In the face of the growing inexorable crisis in the state trade, public catering, and consumer facilities systems, the capital has finally put an end to the confrontation between City Hall and the Moscow City Soviet.

On 11 December, the Moscow City Soviet, City Hall, and the city government leadership signed a joint statement on their resolve to immediately embark on the radical reorganization of enterprises in trade, public catering, and the provision of consumer services by privatizing them. Very importantly, representatives of the Moscow Confederation of Entrepreneurs took an active part in the elaboration of this document, and then also signed it.

They offered special guarantees that the privatization process would not come to a standstill again as a result of existing differences of opinion and lack of coincidence in points of view. Such contradictions, head of government Yu. Luzhkov noted, are comprehensible and natural since "we are expressing the opinions of various economic structures and executive and representative power in Moscow." But the document agreed by all participants and the attached package of normative acts officially presented by L. Piyasheva, the "conductor" of the Moscow privatization, is enabling everyone to work in the closest collaboration.

This must be done without delay or procrastination, since hope for centralized deliveries from state stocks to Moscow next year is smaller than ever. The city will only receive half of the usual quantity of food and consumer goods. To make up for this, privatization may unfetter the initiative and entrepreneurship of collectives, which became the masters of their own enterprises on a competitive basis during auctions. Incidentally, over 7,500 applications have been submitted by people wanting to become the owners of their own "business." The final date for submitting applications is 26 December. The examination of possible contenders for this and other property has already started now.

During the discussion of the joint statement, the representative of the Moscow Leaseholders' Association made an interesting proposal: To start the privatization with leaseholders' collectives, as they have already accumulated a great deal of experience in utilizing their property in the new conditions. As was reported, around 36,000 different stores, bakeries, studios, workshops, canteens, cafes, and snack-bars need to be transferred from the hands of the state althogether. This process will not happen all at once, but under the supervision of the present owner of municipal property—the Moscow City Soviet and the organs especially created by it.

Undoubtedly, Moscow is leading in the privatization process: Being the capital, the logic of the development of market relations leads it there ahead of other regions in Russia. In this connection, it was noted at the meeting in City Hall, discrepancies are emerging with existing Russian legislation. It was decided to immediately appeal to the Russian Supreme Soviet to support Moscow's initiative and introduce the necessary amendments into the law on entrepeneurial activity, taking into account the capital's specific features.

Moscow Trade Unions Given Strike Functions

LD1312144991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0859 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Palariya]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (TASS)—At a meeting of trade union activists in the capital on 9 December, the organizational committee of Moscow's Federation of Trade Unions was given the functions of a Moscow-wide strike committee, Mikhail Shmakov, chairman of the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions, told a TASS correspondent today.

The activists decided to continue picketing the Moscow City Soviet, the mayor's office, and the White House until 12 December. Demonstrators have been out since this morning.

The Moscow Trade Union Federation demands that Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the mayor, and the Government of Moscow halt price rises until cushioning measures for the social protection of Muscovites are brought in, get the supply of foodstuffs to the city going, and ensure law and order in the capital. "Should our actions not succeed," Mikhail Shmakov noted, "the trade unions will move to specific actions."

Moscow Bakeries Work at Full Capacity

LD1612234691 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—Moscow bakeries work at the limit of their capacity, but cannot fully meet the needs of the city's population of nine million. "Because of a shortage of many food products there is a high demand for bread and baked products", A. Kosovan, executive of Moscow's Committee for Baked Products, told TASS. He added that bakeries now supply a 20 per cent larger amount of bread to shops than last year, and still there are bread shortages.

A political disintegration of the Union has led to the rupture of economic ties between republics and regions, observers believe Moscow was hit the hardest. For decades it specialised in the manufacture of industrial products supplying the entire country but Moscow was dependent on receiving food products.

The situation with food supply in Moscow was described as "catastrophic" at one of the latest meetings of the Moscow Government.

President Mikhail Gorbachev asked leaders of a number of republics for food aid for Moscow. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has responded by decreeing that sugar, vegetable oil, meat and other products will be shipped to Moscow.

Sobchak Orders Military To Guard Food Stores

LD1512142491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 91

[Text] On St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak's instructions, armed servicemen today started guarding stores of food, both in the storehouses and during transport. This measure was prompted by the need to end the pilfering of produce and the black market in food, the mayor's instructions state. Like Moscow, St. Petersburg is experiencing serious food difficulties. Sobchak's statement says the current food supplies in the city's storehouses will only last for a few days.

Finns Hold Talks on St Petersburg Grain Aid

LD1612212291 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1600 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By station correspondent Markus Leikola from St. Petersburg]

[Text] The deputy mayor of St. Petersburg says that there is enough food in the city to last until the end of January. The city's mayor, Anatoliy Sobchak, who visited Finland last week, said that there would be enough food to last only until the turn of the year. A Finnish delegation is currently in St. Petersburg to negotiate grain aid for the city. Our correspondent, Markus Leikola, is accompanying the delegation.

[Leikola] The Finnish delegation, representing different sectors in Finland, has found a city here with many problems, but also much good will. The leadership of St. Petersburg is not lacking anything other than the means for solving the problems. Thus, in the negotiations on grain deals, it has not been possible to get anywhere near the 200,000 tonnes for which the government granted authorization last week. The discussions so far have dealt with only a quarter of this, 50,000 tonnes, and even that is feed grain, in order to avoid an unnecessary emergency slaughter. The talks on the ways of paying for it, however, have been faltering throughout the day, for it is difficult to find a quarter in St. Petersburg which can give guarantees of the deliveries from production plants to Finland, especially as final agreements still need Moscow's signature. Timber, oil, and real estate have been mentioned in the discussions, but hardly anyone can define the correct price for, for instance, houses which have been state property for 70 years and, moreover, have become somewhat dilapidated during that time.

According to Reino Uronen, chief secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, who is heading the Finnish delegation, Finland is ready on its part to start sending shipments immediately, before Christmas. In other words, it seems considerably more difficult to get aid to St. Petersburg than to, for instance, the Baltics or Karelia.

(?Georgiy Khidzha), deputy mayor of St. Petersburg, for his part says that the winter will be difficult, but that the city will get through. He is not quite as dramatic in his assessment as Mayor Sobchak, who, during his visit to Finland last week, painted horror stories of food running out as soon as the end of this month. The deputy mayor gives another month, until the end of January. The reason for this is, apart from the fact that negotiations are now being conducted with Finland, is the fact that interrepublican food trade is now beginning, albeit slow, following the Minsk agreement.

Ordinary citizens, such as pensioner (?Stepan Gordeichuk), are not very confident, however. He was standing at the No. 14 fishmonger's on the Nevskiy Avenue, queuing for frozen Baltic herrings with a few hundred

other people. With a monthly pension of 300 rubles [R], one cannot long buy even Baltic herrings, which already cost R5 per kilo. When the prices are freed in two weeks' time, no one will be able to say how much they will cost.

International Center Founded in St Petersburg

LD1612134391 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Irina Zolotareva]

[Text] St. Petersburg December 16 TASS—The Russian Government should now concentrate its efforts on improving the primitive system of an emerging market, create a normal mechanism for price formation, strengthen the rouble and guarantee the subsistence mininum for every person, economist Vasiliy Leontev, an economist and Nobel Prize winner, believes.

A native of St. Petersburg, Leontev addressed a news conference at the Mariinskiy Palace on Sunday [15 December] after a ceremony there to sign documents to found an international (Leontev) centre for socio- economic studies in the city. The Nobel Prize winner agreed that his name be given to the center.

The newly-established centre will employ the finest economists, political and social scientists, and lawyers, who are to work out a programme for the development of St. Petersburg region. Among the founders of the centre are leading academic institutes and scientific associations of the city.

Leontev voiced conviction that the centre would tackle both regional and fundamental tasks. He supported the Russian Government's decision to liberalise prices, emphasising that another postponement of the deadline would be inadmissible.

Chechen President Appoints New Ministers

LD1512102591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 15 Dec 91

[Text] Groznyy: Two of Chechen Republic President Dudayev's representatives flew to Moscow on 14 December to meet Erich Honecker and offer him political asylum. The town of (Shatoy), in the Republic's resort region, is willing to accept the former leader.

Chechen Republic President Dzhokhar Dudayev has announced new appointments to the leadership. (Aslambek Agbulatov) becomes secretary of state; (Shamir Beno) becomes foreign minister; (Movladi Udugov) becomes minister of information and the press. For your information:

(Agbulatov) graduated in 1956 from the faculty of journalism at Leningrad State University. He has worked in the press in Kemerovo, Leningrad, and Groznyy; completed postgraduate studies at Leningrad University; and for some time was on the Party Committee. His last job was deputy dean of the journalism faculty at Leningrad University. According to Dudayev, (Agbulatov) has received training under a state secretary of a certain country, which so far he declines to name;

(Shamir Beno) was born to a family of Jordanian emigres who moved to Groznyy in 1950. He graduated from the faculty of journalism at the Chechen University, has taught history in school, completed postgraduate studies, speaks five languages, and was invited onto the presidential team this past summer.

Chechen President Discusses Moscow, Caucasus

AU1312145291 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 10 Dec 91 p 9

[Interview with Dzhakhar Dudayev, president of the Checheno-Ingush Republic, by Ivan Drabek and Rado Stevcik, in Groznyy; date not given: "The General Is Not Afraid of Death"]

[Text] These days, the presidential palace in Groznyy is reminiscent of the Smolnyy Palace more than 70 years ago. It is a hive of activity, a scene of revolutionary chaos. The unshaven armed guards at the gate randomly search incoming people. Their vigilance verges on excess. An hour later, however, an entire terrorist commando could pass through the abandoned entrance without passes, and without identification cards. The president's visitors must walk. There is no elevator. The line of people waiting to be received by the first man of the republic includes peasants in muddy boots, and well-dressed officials and foreign businessmen. The president works 20 hours a day. Nevertheless, he can be quite generous with his time. Whereas his secretary scheduled a maximum of half an hour for our SMENA interview, Dzhakhar Dudayev, retired general of the Soviet Air Force, sacrificed three times as much time for us.

[SMENA] Today, the entire world knows about the small North Caucasian nation of the Chechens. Undoubtedly, it is significant that it is here that the process of the fragmentation of the Soviet Union hit the Russian Federation for the first time. Are you surprised at the interest shown by the world media?

[Dudayev] The extraordinary attention paid by the world to the Chechen Revolution is completely logical. Above all, because we chose a legal path to the realization of the centuries-old dream of our own statehood. All the steps we have taken have been taken in accordance with international law. Despite desperate pressure on the part of Russia, we managed to avoid bloodshed. For three months, we have been exposed to one trap after another, and each of them could have started a horrifying avalanche of violence. We are mountain people, that is, temperamental; we are not gentle types. Therefore, it really is a miracle that nobody allowed himself to be provoked. The awareness of the masses has grown, the nation has been purified. An unending mass rally—with participation often reaching half a million people—demonstrated the nation's power, steadfastness, and readiness to make sacrifices. The mass "dry" hunger

strike continued for seven days. Old men in their eighties refused food. Starving mothers did not give food to their children. It was Moscow that reduced us to this drastic form of protest. One hundred thousand people tied green handkerchiefs around their foreheads and received GAZOVAT, an oath meaning victory or death. Hundreds of desperate young men barred the path of the heavy military equipment with their own bodies. The airplanes with elite Interior Ministry units could not land at Groznyy Airport because the landing strips were blocked by tankers full of gas. At the steering wheel of each of them was a driver who was ready to die. The fact that the Russian Parliament did not support Yeltsin's decree on martial law in Chechen was not a charity. Moscow encountered such strong resistance that it could not do anything else.

[SMENA] One of the decorations awarded by the legendary hero of the mountain people, Shamil, at the time of the Caucasian War was inscribed: "He who thinks about the consequences cannot be brave." Do you believe that Chechens, and with them the entire Caucasus, are thinking about the consequences, or that they want to demonstrate their bravery?

[Dudayev] You must understand that Shamil was speaking explicitly about bravery on the battlefield. In the last century, it could not have been any other way.... His words cannot be applied to the conditions of a state in the process of formation. Our bravery has been proven by three centuries of struggle for national independence.

[SMENA] Mr. President, are you concerned about the possibility that other autonomous republics will follow your example, and Russia will disintegrate into dozens of small hostile states?

[Dudayev] The disintegration of Russia is a Russian problem. Let Russia ponder how to prevent its disintegration. A lesson from history tells us that not even brute force can prolong the existence of an outdated empire. Empires have always risen and fallen. It is the law of nature. The present Russian leadership is piling up one fatal mistake after another. It is trying to keep the empire together by supporting rotten regimes in its provinces and colonies. These regimes formed on the old totalitarian foundations of party monopoly ignore national traditions. The people are no longer willing to tolerate this, be it in Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Adygeya, or Karachayevo-Cherkessia. Nowhere! Russia will not be able to save its isolated governors' power, no matter whether it uses Interior Ministry troops or intrigues of the KGB and the prosecutor's office.

[SMENA] The image of the common enemy—the Russian empire—currently fuses together even antagonistic political forces and Caucasian ethnic groups. Is there not a danger that at the moment when the mountain nations secede from Moscow, the Lebanonization of the Caucasus could begin, and old territorial disputes reopen?

[Dudayev] As soon as Russia ceases to interfere in our affairs, we will settle all the disputes very quickly. The unity of the Caucasian peoples on a confederative basis is the concept that will guarantee peace and prosperity in this region.

[SMENA] Will the Chechen Republic be willing to enter into a renewed union?

[Dudayev] First of all, we have to strengthen our sovereignty and become the real masters in our own house. Only then can we consider the possibility of entering into a union advantageous to us.

[SMENA] How do you view future relations between the Chechen Republic and Russia?

[Dudayev] I am convinced that there is no other choice for Russia but out-and-out democratization. We are prepared to maintain correct relations based on partnership, equality, and mutual advantageousness with a truly democratic Russia that renounces its old imperialist ambitions. That is, the same relations as we are establishing with the Ukraine, the Baltic States, or Central Asia.

[SMENA] However, tension persists between Moscow and Groznyy in the interim.

[Dudayev] Russia declared an economic war against us on 1 December. We were forced to retaliate. They are continuing to dispatch diverse groups to Chechen. Their primary task is my physical elimination.

[SMENA] Do you have proof of this?

[Dudayev] I have the documents here in my pocket. They sent them to me from Moscow. I cannot let you publish them, because the safety of the people who are selflessly uncovering the mechanism of this crime now depends on their secrecy. We have verified reports that Rutskoy (vice president of the Russian Federation) is preparing a terrorist unit to physically eliminate Dudayev. They have given a kamikaze role to a drug addict. He is to detonate a grenade and die along with me. They are training three snipers. They have issued false passports and opened secret bank accounts for the assassins.

[SMENA] What price they have placed on your head?

[Dudayev] There are various figures. The amount hovers around 100 million rubles. However, they have now begun to include foreign currency. They already have at least $5 million.

[SMENA] Nevertheless, Mr. President, it is said that you have also dispatched terrorist groups to Moscow. The local papers in Groznyy proudly proclaimed on their first pages that at the beginning of November—during the state of emergency in Chechen—your snipers kept Rutskoy in their sights for three days. Here in Chechen it is also said that the Council of Elders even persuaded you to revoke the death sentence on the Russian vice president.

[Dudayev] I am not preparing, and have never prepared to condemn anyone. I am not the court. Rutskoy can sleep in peace. I personally abhor all kinds of terrorist acts.

[SMENA] In this case, what did you mean by your statement that Moscow will not be able to sleep in peace?

[Dudayev] It is necessary to differentiate between the terms terror and diverse campaigns undertaken in a state of war. I would like to again warn those in Moscow's White House who have not ceased their preparations for bloodletting in Chechen that there will also be mountains of bodies on their side. The mothers of Russian soldiers will weep bitterly. The rules of war are cruel.... However, this is not a threat of terror. It is only in Moscow that they are trying to make a terrorist out of me by force so that they can prosecute me on the basis of rumors.

[SMENA] Apparently, they have already issued an arrest warrant for you....

[Dudayev] The order for my arrest really exists. It bears the signatures of Rutskoy, Dunayev (the interior minister), and Stepankov (the prosecutor general). They have also prepared case documents in advance for all my close colleagues and have concocted false accusations of crimes they never committed.

[SMENA] What conclusions do you draw from all of this?

[Dudayev] After the investigation is completed, we will publish all the evidence. I am afraid that the Russian justice organs will refuse to cooperate. In this case, we will appeal to the international court to help us extradite the highly placed Russian representatives whose part in organizing state terrorism has been proven.

[SMENA] It is said that you only stopped wearing a bullet-proof vest recently. What does this gesture mean in a situation in which, as you claim, an assassination attempt is being prepared against you?

[Dudayev] Yes, I have taken off my bullet-proof vest. Since the time they elected me president, I have been under the protection of the entire Chechen people. If someone wants to spill Chechen blood, let me be the first victim.

[SMENA] Are you afraid of death?

[Dudayev] My attitude toward death is supremely philosophical. The almighty gave me life, and only he can take it away.

[SMENA] Forgive my indiscretion. Your celebrated presidential oath has made a huge impression on the Chechen people. You swore your oath on the Koran. Are you really a believer? Do you believe in Allah?

[Dudayev] It does not matter whether what I believe in is called Allah, God, or Christ. I believe in the force of nature that transcends man. We can never go beyond its limits.

[SMENA] In your earlier curriculum vitae it is written that you joined the CPSU in 1968. According to some sources, you have quit the party. What is your relationship with the Communist Party?

[Dudayev] Today, it is in vogue to bring evidence that one's party membership was innocent and to prove the guilt of others. Regardless of this, I must say that we—high military officers—personally felt the pressure of party's influence spilling into military structures. In my mind, and in my actions, I have never become reconciled with this fact. My quitting the party? I served in Estonia, in a republic in which the party was the first to collapse. I have never registered myself anywhere else.

[SMENA] Mr. President, what marks have the first 13 years of your life in exile left on you—an exile during which the entire Chechen nation had to live in Kazakhstan?

[Dudayev] Since the time my senses were able to perceive the world, I could feel on my own skin degradation, oppression, violence, and injustice. After Stalinist deportations, each and every Chechen become a second-rate citizen. During the forced resettlement in 1944, thousands of Chechens died. It was genocide. However, even Khrushchev's "rehabilitation" was not dignified enough for human beings. They herded us into cattle wagons, and then we found ourselves foreigners in our own country once again—without job opportunities, without a roof over our heads. This tragic experience is encoded in the genes of every Chechen. Despite this, the younger generation was not vigilant enough. When the State of Emergency Committee assumed power in Moscow, a new genocide was under preparation in Chechen, which had to be brought to our attention by the older generation. The Army occupied vitally important positions. At various places in the republic, long convoys of empty trucks began gathering. Those who remember the deportations came to me and warned me in no uncertain terms: General, this is the scenario of 1944. Before nightfall, our forces had the situation in the entire republic under control. At that time, we were the strongest allies of the defenders of the White House in Moscow. It is Yeltsin's tragedy that he forgot it at the beginning of November when he imposed the state of emergency in Chechen.

[SMENA] Do you hope that you will be able to make an agreement with Yeltsin sometime? What chance to succeed does your diplomatic solution to the conflict between Moscow and Grozny have?

[Dudayev] I personally hold Yeltsin in high esteem for his attitude during the Baltic crisis and during the August attempt at a putsch. I appreciate that he was able to admit that the imposition of the state of emergency was a mistake. After this erroneous decision was abolished by

the Russian Parliament, he said that he was in favor of holding talks with Grozny. However, immediately after that new provocative declarations came from Moscow. Russia allegedly does not want to lead a dialogue with the official Chechen delegation but with the "social and political forces of the republic." What kind of attitude is this? Indeed, in Chechen there is legally elected power—parliament and the president. They can be sure in Moscow that in our country they will not find those forces that they rely on. All political parties and movements are prepared to defend sovereignty.

N. Ossetian Supreme Soviet Extends Emergency

LD1712104891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1020 GMT 17 Dec 91

[by TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 17 Dec (TASS)—At its regular session that opened today, the Supreme Soviet of the North Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] satisfied the petitions of the Prigorodnyy Rayon and Vladikavkaz town soviets of people's deputies and extended the state of emergency in that rayon and in the capital of the republic to 19 February 1992.

Following stormy debates, the republic parliament also passed laws on privatization of housing stock in the North Ossetian SSR, on formation of a supreme court of arbitration of the North Ossetian SSR, and on abolition of the state arbitration service of the North Ossetian SSR.

'Heightened Emotions' at Ossetian Congress

LD1512114591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Dec 91

[Report by Irina Gukayeva, Radio North Ossetia's Vladikavkaz correspondent, on the extraordinary congres of the Ossetian people on 14 December; from the "New Wave" program]

[Text] The conditions under which the extraordinary congress is working are absolutely extraordinary and correspond fully with the congress' title. We have already said this many times, but I will repeat: Over 400 Ossetians have been killed and about 500 women, old men, and children maimed as a result of the undeclared war in South Ossetia; scores of oblast civilians have been taken hostage; over 100 people have vanished without a trace; every sixth North Ossetian resident is now a refugee; the number of refugees from South Ossetia and internal areas of Georgia has now reached 100,000.

This leads to the conclusion that the threat of the nation's physical annihilation and spiritual impoverishment has never before been so real as now in the history of the Ossetians, which goes back over 1,000 years and has known periods of flourishing and decline. This has all been reflected in the work of the congress and in the heightened emotions during the debate. One result of the congress' outcome is already discernible: The nation has recognized itself as a single entity. This can be said with satisfaction and quite definitively. The nation is united in declaring its determination to be a united nation, a united people, and a united Republic of Ossetia. I would like to add that, when we speak of Ossetian unity, we are, of course, speaking of different things, especially with the leadership of Georgia, which cynically declares that North Ossetia and South Ossetia do not really exist and that Ossetia alone exists. However, in fact this is really so, because now the reunification for all intents and purposes of the North and South Ossetians has occurred on North Ossetian territory. As a result, the overwhelming majority of Ossetians residing in Georgia and in South Ossetia now find themselves in North Ossetian territory. However, the congress delegates once again expressed their profound conviction and determination that Ossetians have lived and will continue to live on the northern section and the southern section of the main Caucasian mountain range. This land belongs to the Ossetians, and they do not intend to yield an inch. That is the main outcome of the congress and the main decision.

Tatar Activists Call To Replace Parliament

OW1712001091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of activists of the Congress of Citizens of Independent Tatarstan have called for replacing the republican parliament with a new representative body capable of seeing through the political and economic reforms and protecting Tatarstan's statehood.

According to the group's leader Albert Garapov, the Tatar Supreme Soviet has broken up into separate factions displaying signs of ethnic hostility towards one another, and is no longer able to fulfill its functions. A genuinely popular government is needed to restore Tatarstan's statehood, Mr. Garapov said.

The Congress of Citizens insists on introducing a republican currency, setting up a Bank of Tatarstan and a national guard, and transferring the Interior Ministry, the KGB and the Procurator's Office to the republic's jurisdiction.

The activists are opposed to passing the privatization law until Tatarstan has seen through the nationalization campaign, set up an efficient customs service and introduced its own currency.

Communist Organization Set Up in Tatarstan

OW1612190391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A communist organization has been set up in Kazan, called the Communist Organization of the Republic of Tatarstan (Russian abbreviation OKRT). The founding conference was attended by 358 delegates from 26 urban and rural districts of the republic.

The organization's program statement stresses that it is going to put up a "clearly formulated opposition" to the policy of creating a market economy and introducing private ownership, advocate the political sovereignty of Tatarstan, stand for planned production, "genuine self-financing and the distribution of benefits according to the work done." As regards agriculture, the Communists oppose private landownership and the "compulsory abolition" of collective and state farms.

The conference approved the charter of the organization and elected its leading bodies.

Vladimir Salamashkin, a member of the OKRT organizing committee, told an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent that OKRT was entitled to some of the property of the former Tatar organization of the CPSU.

Khabarovsk Receives Aid for Energy Crisis

OW1712015391 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1030 GMT 16 Dec 91

[L. Stroykov video report; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Our program has already covered the critical heating, power, and water supply situation in Khabarovsk. Unfortunately, the subject has not lost its urgency even today, with the arrival of real freezing weather. The promises of the city authorities to stabilize the situation have not been fulfilled.

[Begin recording] [Stroykov] Inconsideration and carelessness of the public services were added to the power workers' technical problems. The basements of houses are flooded with hot water. Steam is rising from the heating conduits which have not been covered over in time. No equipment will be adequate to move meter-thick ice. According to a quick poll, approximately 40,000 Khabarovsk homes have either no or very little heat. The poll was conducted on the order of the Russian president's representative for the Khabarovsk Kray. The calls for help had been heard. [Video shows Stroykov interviewing V.M. Desyatov, the RSFSR president's representative in Khabarovsk Kray]

[Desyatov] After a great effort, however, a government commission finally arrived in Khabarovsk. The commission's findings: The situation in Khabarovsk is critical. The commission, now in Moscow, is ramming through government resolutions so that money and resources are released for Khabarovsk. The reason is that the center's imperial policy had taken billions of rubles in the form of profits from the Khabarovsk Kray and sent it somewhere else. The Khabarovsk Kray was left with crumbs, which, as a result, was insufficient to maintain the communal economy. The local administration is also to blame. There is a clause in the commission's report which instructs Viktor Vyshayev, head of the Khabarovsk Kray Administration, to sort it out with the local administration and come to conclusions. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet

Parliament Inherits Union Supreme Soviet Assets

'Liquidation Commission' Formed

LD1712104591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] The Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution according to which the property of the USSR Supreme Soviet is transferred to the jurisdiction of Russia, and the Russian parliament assumes the role of the legal successor of the Union parliament.

According to the resolution, it is proposed that a liquidation commission be set up within a two-day period. It is to be headed by Nikolay Ryabov, the chairman of the Soviet of the Republic of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and Konstantin Lubenchenko, the chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet .

The commission is to hand over the entire property, means, and buildings belonging to the Union Parliament to the Russian jurisdiction. The directorate for protection of the highest bodies of state power of the RSFSR has been instructed to guard the buildings of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The resolution is based on the law on RSFSR's economic sovereignty and has been adopted in accordance with the agreement on setting up the Commonwealth of Independent States. It envisages, in particular, that USSR bodies of state power be abolished and that the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet be seized accordingly.

Properties Placed Under Guard

LD1612223691 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2102 GMT 16 Dec 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] On December 16 Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet decided to guard the buildings, facilities and property of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The resolution of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet recognizes the Russian parliament as the successor of all buildings, facilities, enterprises, organizations, recreation and medical institutions belonging to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The RSFSR Ministry of Interior, agency of federal security and local executive authorities were assigned to undertake the measures to guard all of the above mentioned installations, prevent any attempts of damage, destruction and embezzlement of the property of the USSR Supreme Soviet. According to the

RSFSR Interior Minister Andrey Dunayev, misappropriation of this property has already started. The Russian Central Bank and Ministry of Trade and Finance have been assigned to provide control of all financial funds in roubles and hard currency on the accounts of the USSR Supreme Soviet within 24 hours. It was decided to form a liquidation commission which would submit recommendations on further use of the property of the USSR Supreme Soviet, including that on the territory of the Moscow Kremlin. The commission should also present its proposals on financing of activities and material benefits of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on remuneration and compensation payments to the staff of the Secretariat of the USSR Supreme Soviet during their out of work period. Nikolay Riyabov, chairman of the Council of Republic of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, who presented the resolution, said that soon we expect adoption of a declaration suspending deputy's powers of the USSR people's deputies. According to first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Sergey Filatov, the future of objects belonging to the USSR [words indistinct].

Quick Ratification of Estonia Treaty Stressed

LD1612183791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet has taken the decision to submit for ratification by parliament the treaty on the bases for inter-state relations between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and Estonia, which was signed last January. RSFSR State Counsellor Aleksandr Granberg explained the need for a quick ratification by the fact that this would open up possibilities for concluding agreements in various areas. No less important, according to Granberg, is the fact that Estonia's Russian population looks on the treaty as a guarantee of its rights.

The sitting of the presidium decided to recommend the draft law on the security of the RSFSR for consideration by the Russian Supreme Soviet. The law gives particular priority to human concerns.

Proposals Submitted for Price Increases

PM1712101691 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Dec 91 p 1

[AEN report: "Prices and Wallets"]

[Text] A decree on price liberalization signed by B. Yeltsin has been sent to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet for ratification. The package of government documents includes, in addition to the president's decree, normative acts on the application of free (market) prices to products for production and technical purposes and consumer goods and documents on changes to the procedure for taxation and social protection for the population. According to V. Zverkhovskiy, chairman of the Russian Prices Committee, the decree will be published in the next 10 days.

Regulated prices for products for production and technical purposes will exceed current prices as follows: electricity and thermal power—fourfold; coal, shale, oil and gas condensate, natural and liquefied gas—fivefold; motor and boiler fuel and kerosene—threefold. An upper limit is set for precious metals and alloys, scrap and waste from these, raw diamonds, precious, semiprecious, synthetic, and artificial stones and products made from them, freight shipments by rail, road, maritime, river, air, and pipeline transportation, and the main communications services.

According to the most modest estimates prices for basic consumer goods and services to which state tariffs apply will increase by a factor of three to four in Russia. The final list includes certain types of bread (made from first and second grade wheat flour and rye), milk, kefir, nonfat curds, basic types of children's food including processed foods, table salt sold to the population, sugar, vegetable oil, vodka, alcohol, fuel, timber, gas, heat and electricity supplied to the population, gasoline, diesel fuel, kerosene, matches, and medicines and medical supplies.

Interrepublic Affairs

Commonwealth Not 'Double' of Union Treaty

LD1612145991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] In the opinion of Andrey Kozyrev, Russian minister of foreign affairs, it is a mistake to regard the Commonwealth of Independent States as a double of the Union Treaty. Therefore—he stated in an interview to the Russian Information Agency—it is senseless to say that Gorbachev ought to hand over his powers to someone else. If the Union could exist as a union, then perhaps Gorbachev would be the president who is needed. But there is no possibility of preserving that formation. Consequently, power must be handed over to the states that have emerged in the place of the former Union republics, Andrey Kozyrev stressed in an interview with RIA.

Tatar Prime Minister Welcomes Minsk Agreement

LD1612233491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2317 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan, 17 December (TASS)—"The Belovezhskoye agreement between three independent states represents an effort to find a way out of an impasse and a search for new paths. I welcome this," Mukhammat Sabirov, prime minister of the Republic of Tatarstan, said in an interview with Kazan radio. "We intend not to destroy but to piece together a common economic space, something which can be achieved only through accords and talks", he continued. The prime minister said that an economic accord between the governments of Russia

and Tatarstan has been initialled. In order to conclude similar accords, a group of representatives of the Tataria government has left for Bishkek and Alma-Ata, while another group has left for Moldova.

Yeltsin Asks Moldovans 'To Prevent Violence'

LD1312195791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 13 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin today appealed to all the inhabitants of the Republic of Moldova. His appeal says:

There can be different ideas of what our new life is to be like, but it would be a great tragedy of history if in the heat of emotions we were to lose the chance for a better life that we have won for ourselves and to allow ourselves to be taken back to the abyss of mutual ill-will and animosity. Our common salvation lies in the preservation of a stable peace and good-neighborliness among all former prisoners of totalitarianism. The homeland cannot be divided up, and it cannot be changed for any other place either. Rise above mutual grudges. Leave your bitterness in the past. Do not inflict wounds on one another. Think of your common home—it will be all too easy to destroy it but much more difficult to erect new walls on its burned ruins. The main thing is to prevent violence.

Interrepublic Affairs

Belarus, Moldova Establish Diplomatic Ties

OW1412031091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 14 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Earlier M. Snegur was visiting Belarus to study the agreement setting up a Commonwealth of Independent States. In an interview with INTERFAX in Minsk after meeting with Stanislav Shushkevich he said, "My visit is also to give a further impulse to an all-round development of relations between Moldova and Belarus. I am sure we'll shortly prepare a bilateral treaty and establish diplomatic links".

M. Snegur invited S. Shushkevich to visit Moldova. The invitation was accepted.

The latest events on the Dnester's left bank forced M. Snegur to put off his trip to Kiev and return to Kishinev.

In his Minsk interview M. Snegur expressed hope that calm would be restored in the Dnester area by Friday [13 December] night.

Belarus

Republic To Control Nuclear Arms 'Directly'

LD1612183391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] Belarus Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko says Belarus intends to control the nuclear weapons on its territory directly, INTERFAX reports. Kravchenko pointed out that no decision on the use and redeployment of and on the control [kontrol] over nuclear weapons in Belarus will be made without the participation of that republic's government.

Foreign Minister on Nuclear Arms Destruction

OW1612175391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The people of Belarus are tired of being pawns to somebody else's military decisions", Belorussia's foreign minister Petr Kravchenko told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent before the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's visit to Minsk. The destiny of nuclear arms deployed in Belorussia and issues connected with their use, redeployment and control over them should be resolved only with Belorussia's direct participation, the minister pointed out.

As for the monitoring of nuclear weapons it should be in the hands of a unified center in accordance with the Minsk accords on forming the Commonwealth of Independent States, said P. Kravchenko. "Our ambitions do not spread to possessing nuclear weaponry", he added. "We want it to be destroyed right here in Belarus, not redeployed elsewhere.

Back last year, the minister said, Belarus called for setting up a denuclearized belt from the Baltic to the Black Sea with the inclusion of Belarus, the Ukraine and the Baltic states.

Army To Be Half Current Strength

PM1612105591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Nikolay Matukovskiy report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Belarus Has Its Own Defense Minister"]

[Text] Minsk—The main event at the Belarussian parliamentary session was its closed sitting. The result is known: All deputies in the former Union Supreme Soviet who were elected from Belarus have, in fact, been recalled from all Union structures.

But before this the deputies appointed Lieutenant General Petr Grigoryevich Chaus to the post of minister for defense affairs.

There are currently on Belarussian territory three combined-arms armies, an air army, an air defense army, three missile divisions, one airborne division, and one missile-armed naval aircraft division—a total of 180,000 men or 5 percent of all the former Union's troops. Their weaponry includes missile systems and other nuclear missile weapons and a large amount of all manner of hardware. These forces were formed when the offensive doctrine prevailed. Now everything has radically changed. Urgent and at the same time very precise and carefully considered decisions are needed on the formation of the Belarussian army, which will have approximately 90,000 men. Many problems have accumulated among the troops which must be solved immediately—they are the questions of discipline, recruitment and training, and social support for servicemen. The last sphere has been particularly neglected. At the same time as marshals and generals were constructing dachas for themselves, thousands of officers have not had adequate housing to this day. Now the republic government must resolve all these questions.

Government Drafts Border Protection Concept

PM1612160191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Unidentified TASS correspondent report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Border Under Guard"]

[Text] Minsk, 13 Dec—The Belarussian Government has prepared a draft concept for protecting the republic's state border for discussion at a Supreme Soviet session.

The concept envisages that four border guard detachments will be responsible for protecting the state border with Lithuania and Latvia along its entire 685 km length.

Furthermore, there will be controls at six highway and railroad checkpoints, nine international two-way checkpoints, and 12 checkpoints with simplified formalities [punkty uproshchennogo propuska].

It is proposed to protect the state border with the Republic of Poland with the forces and means available to the republic's Border Guard Troops, as under the previous system.

People's Front Rejects Commonwealth Forces

LD1612234191 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2052 GMT 16 Dec 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] On December 15 in Minsk participants of the meeting of the opposition fraction of the People's Front of Belarus in the Supreme Soviet of Belarus opposed the joint armed forces of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and supported introduction of national currency and customs control. At the meeting held by the People's Front of Belarus on December 15 in the Independence Square in Minsk speakers criticized the plan of Chairman of Supreme Soviet of the RB [Republic of Belarus] Stanislav Shushkevich for the reorganization of the Supreme Soviet which he was going to submit for consideration at the forthcoming extraordinary session of the republican Supreme Soviet on December 17. In accordance with the Shushkevich plan the current membership of the Supreme Soviet (346 deputies) would form the Congress of People's Deputies and 90 members of the Supreme Soviet would work on a permanent basis. Representatives of the opposition believe that all members of the Supreme Soviet of the RB willing to work on a permanent basis may do so. Leader of the fraction of the People's Front in the Supreme Soviet of the RB Zenon Poznyak stated that if the opposition's opinion is rejected, the national congress would be established as a body of authority parallel to the Supreme Soviet. At the meeting in which participated about 1.5 thousand people it was also stated that the opposition of the People's Front of Belarus also demanded resignation of the Government of Belarus.

Moldova

Clashes, Developments in Dnestr Detailed

PM1712114191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent E. Kondratov report: "Moldova: Echo of 'Black Friday'"]

[Text] Kishinev—Following an armed clash at the Dubossary bridge between Moldovan police forces and Dnestr region guardsmen, two guardsmen and three policemen died at the scene. A fourth policeman died of his wounds, and another left-banker is at death's door. A total of 20 people were wounded.

Here is the picture of what happened the morning of 13 December as detailed by MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] personnel who took part in the events.

Since the previous evening in Dubossary tension had been whipped up around a rayon police department under the jurisdiction of the Moldova MVD—the blockade of its premises by guardsmen demanding the transfer of the police to the jurisdiction of the Dnestr region authorities was continuing. At the policemen's request, an MVD special subunit was bused in from Kishinev to assist them. On the bridge over the Dnestr they disarmed a Dnestr guardsmen's post without a shot being fired. On the left bank this was seen as the start of an invasion. Near a State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration post on the road leading to the city the buses met with automatic fire. The police returned fire. However, the Dubossary side claims that the police fired first.

Throughout the day the situation in Dubossary was critical. Crowds of excited citizens remained on the central square. Attempts to calm people down by members of the presidium of the Moldovan parliament who came here were unsuccessful. Nor did anything come of top-level talks.

The presidium of the Moldovan parliament appealed to the inhabitants of the Dnestr region and the whole republic to keep calm and show restraint, not to give way to provocations, and not to believe panic rumors.

President M. Snegur twice cabled his offer of a 14 December meeting in Kishinev with leaders of the left-bank region's city and rayon executive committees. However, his appeals for the joint formulation of measures to stabilize the situation were ignored—only one of the nine invitees turned up. Parliament presidium members V. Berlinski, P. Sandulaki, and Deputy Prime Minister A. Sangeli traveled out to Tiraspol for talks with President I. Smirnov of the Dnestr Republic, which Moldova does not recognize.

The echo of "black Friday" could be heard Saturday [14 December] as well. In the afternoon Police Lieutenant M. Lozan, who was on duty near the dam on the right bank, was seriously wounded in the stomach by a shot from a sniper's rifle. Dubossary's leaders are explaining the shot away as merely a chance event—both the shooting and the fact that the lieutenant was hit. On Saturday night shots were again heard on the left bank. A car and a motorcyclist were shot at. There is nothing surprising about this: There are too many weapons in the hands of the left-bank population. The Moldova MVD claims that the submachine guns and machine guns with which hundreds of civilians are armed have come from military units.

Speaking on the radio, National Security Minister A. Plugaru has warned of the possibility of the widespread escalation of the conflict, which could develop into civil war. Volunteers from St. Petersburg have already expressed a desire to come to the aid of the Dnestr

region. A Russian cossack envoy made a similar announcement on Tiraspol radio. It cannot be ruled out that Moldovan volunteer formations will become active again. Nor should one discount Romanian reaction.

Mircea Snegur has asked the leaders of the Commonwealth of Independent States to send observers with a view to subsequently turning over the Moldovan question to the United Nations for examination.

A meeting between M. Snegur and I. Smirnov was held 15 December in Kishinev.

By order of the Moldovan president a conciliation commission has been established to overcome the crisis, and this set off for the conflict zone immediately.

Spokeswoman Remarks on Events

AU1612152491 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 14 Dec 91 pp 1,10

[Interview with Alina Nikolayevna Demekova, spokeswoman of the Dnestr Republic parliament, by Ivan Drabek; conducted by telephone on 13 December: "Blood on the Dnestr"]

[Text] Fighting broke out yesterday in another conflict area of the disintegrating Soviet Union. The increasing tension between the Moldovan Republic and the so-called Dnestr Republic, whose majority Russian-speaking population voted for independence from Kishinev in a referendum two weeks ago, erupted into armed clashes. Blood flowed in the Dubossary border area, which is inhabited by 27,000 people.

[Drabek] How did the incident happen?

[Demekova] Special Moldovan Interior Ministry units attacked Dnestr Republican Guard formations at 0600. Immediately before this, the Interior Ministry units had shot three civilians on Dubossary Bridge, thus clearing their way toward the community lying on the left bank of the Dnestr. Street battles began. A Republican Guard company numbering 30 men resisted approximately 600 attackers. The first battle lasted for some 40 minutes. There were losses on both sides. The Interior Ministry units have three dead and 11 wounded. Two of our guards were killed. The clashes ceased at around midday.

The Interior Ministry units, who also occupied the railroad junction, control the southwestern part of the community, and the guardists control the northeast part. Dnestr Republic executive organs have adopted all measures for a declaration of mobilization. Reports of increasing tension are also coming from other regions of the republic. For example, a strong subversive group is being formed in the Delaceu [spelling as published] area of the Grigoriopol District. The transfer of 200 members of the Interior Ministry units has also been announced in the Gender district.

[Drabek] Moldovan President Mircea Snegur made an offer of talks to representatives of the Dnestr and Gagauz Republics, which Kishinev does not officially recognize, on 12 December. Can you explain how an attack was made immediately after his appeal for dialogue?

[Demekova] The organizers of aggression, probably from the radical wing of the Moldovan National Front, undoubtedly, intended to make these negotiations impossible. However, their intention was, obviously, broader than this. They were also trying to ruin the Moldovan president's attempt at rapprochement with the Commonwealth of Independent States via their provocation in Dubossary. On Thursday, 12 December, Snegur conducted negotiations with Yeltsin in Moscow and with Kravchuk in Kiev. He flew to Minsk on 13 December to conclude his talks with the Slavic troika by meeting with the most senior representative of Belarus, Shushkevich. However, he could not complete this mission on account of the fighting in Dubossary. He returned quickly to Kishinev from Minsk.

[Drabek] In your opinion, how will the conflict between Kishinev and Tiraspol develop?

[Demekova] There is hope of peaceful negotiations following President Snegur's return to Moldova. There must be goodwill on both sides to resolve disputes by peaceful means. They have to understand in Kishinev that we will not allow ourselves to be Romanianized at any price. Therefore, we are prepared to defend this endeavor by armed resistance, although the balance of forces is unequivocally to our disadvantage. Our Republican Guard has only a few hundred members. Moldova is forming six carabinieri regiments. In Kishinev they have earmarked five percent of the state budget in order to arm 10,000 men. At the same time, they are also receiving weapons from the other side of the River Prut. Now they have committed murder in Dubossary with Romanian ARM submachine guns.

Snegur Appeals For Calm

AU1712122291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1155 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], ROMPRES 17/12/1991—MOLDOVA PRESS has released an appeal addressed to the citizens of the Republic of Moldova by President Mircea Snegur, in connection with the bloody incidents at Dubossary that resulted in dead and wounded and were caused by secessionist elements of the so-called Dnestrian Republic. "The death of these men in their prime is a direct consequence of the uncontrolled political ambitions, of the agonizing actions of the old structures, of the demagogy practiced by those who are not responsible for anything. History will judge all alike," the appeal reads.

The document shows that a Conciliation Commission was set up to overcome the crisis and that, pursuant to painstaking negotiations, a Protocol of Conciliation was signed that stipulated also the withdrawal of the armed groups to their former quarters. "We wait for foreign

observers who will tell world public opinion the true reasons of the tragedy, the real state of affairs," the appeal reads.

"I urge all of you to calm, I invite you to ponder things with a cool head and not to yield to provocations," President Snegur's appeal reads.

Minister Urges Free Economic Zone

OW1712140991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1203 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriu Muravski believes that making the city of Tiraspol on the left bank of the Dnestr a free economic zone can help scale down political tensions in the area. In his interview for the newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA MOLDOVA he described the Dnestr leader Igor Smirnov as a man of resolution, a clever politician and a non-separatist who "finds himself in a difficult situation because of the center's ill will."

Parliament Resolution on Dnestr, Gagauz Areas

PM1612111191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Eduard Kondratov report: "Moldova: Campaign Against Separatists Being Prepared"]

[Text] Kishinev—The Moldovan parliament has adopted a resolution on the situation in the Dnestr region and the areas inhabited by the Gagauz people.

The organizers of anticonstitutional referendums and presidential elections in the Dnestr and Gagauz Republics, which are not recognized by Moldova, are accused of usurping the legitimate parliament's authority and of criminal infringement of Moldova's independence and integrity.

Parliament has resolved to disband armed formations within a 10-day period and to call on the population of the left bank, the Dnestr, and the Gagauz south not to obey the self-appointed authorities. It has been decided to send the Moldovan president's authorized representatives there to restore the constitutional organs of authority and to start a prosecutor's investigation into breaches of the law.

The resolution was adopted without a single vote "against."

Ukraine

Commonwealth Accord Ratified With Amendments

PM1312152991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent S. Tsikora report under general headline: "Agreement on Commonwealth of Independent States Ratified"]

[Text] Ukraine—There had been tension in the air since morning in the hall of the republic's parliament on 10 December—the question of ratification was being postponed from one hour to the next. The reasons were more than convincing—the deputies' standing commissions had made many comments on the text of the agreement. It was necessary to discuss these amendments with the leadership of Belarus and Russia. It was only toward the evening session that L. Kravchuk succeeded in coping with this work.

The Ukrainian president's speech lasted approximately 30 minutes. Kravchuk accused the center of causing the country's disintegration and intending to concentrate power in its hands once again. If President Gorbachev is only beginning his struggle, Kravchuk said, then the question arises: Against whom? These are ill-considered, dangerous steps aimed at confrontation. Somebody wants to teach us and to show more concern for our people than they do themselves. This is a screen!

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet ratified the agreement by 288 votes, but with reservations. These are very substantial and consist of 12 points. Many articles in the document have been subject to amendment. For example, we read in Article 5 of the agreement signed in Minsk—the sides "guarantee open borders, free movement by citizens, and free transfer of information within the Commonwealth." The Ukrainian parliament altered the text of this article as follows: The sides "guarantee on a mutual basis the open nature of the state borders that exist between them for their citizens' unimpeded contacts and the transfer of information within the Commonwealth and to this end are drawing up a corresponding legal base in the very near future." Jurists comment on these amendments to the effect that this text is more in keeping with established European norms, according to which it is one thing to visit one another but quite a different thing to secure the right to live and work in another state.

Another example. The Minsk agreement provides for "coordination of foreign policy activity"; the Kiev version—"consultations in the foreign policy sphere."

We also find a substantial addition in the article on the Armed Forces. The Ukrainian parliament deemed it necessary to introduce the following words here: "The Commonwealth member states will reform the groupings of the Armed Forces of the former USSR located on their territory and, creating their own Armed Forces on the basis of them, will cooperate in ensuring international peace and security...."

In short, substantial amendments. Eut they did not get any public discussion at the session. Despite the fact that numerous people wished to put questions to the Ukrainian president about certain details of the elaboration of the agreement and the interpretation of its articles, they were not given the floor. I. Plyushch, the new chairman

of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, put the question of the Minsk agreement's ratification to the vote without a discussion.

The text was approved with amendments. Without casting doubt on the results of the vote, deputies, members of the "People's Council," at once began to leave the hall. They regarded as inadmissible and in violation of the standing orders such methods of discussing documents of fundamental importance to the republic's fate. At a brief conference they discussed proposals ranging from an ultimatum to the head of the Supreme Soviet, which had disregarded deputies' rights, to demonstrative nonparticipation in the session's subsequent work. So as not to give cause to forces which might use this conflict in parliament to blacken the very idea of the Commonwealth of Independent States, it was decided to clear the air between the "People's Council" and the head of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet behind closed doors. The difficult discussion lasted more than an hour. Journalists have not yet been told what they decided.

Officials Discuss Strategic Deterrent Forces

OW1612175891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian Defence Minister Konstantin Morozov conferred in Kiev with a delegation of high-ranking Soviet military officials. No information on this score was released.

According to unconfirmed data, the military delegation from the center insisted on expanding the notion of "strategic deterrent forces". The center wants to spread it to the tank and infantry troops since within them there are some units equipped with tactical nuclear arms.

According to experts, if this interpretation is accepted, most military units stationed in the Ukraine will no longer be under its jurisdiction. They'll be under the joint command of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Presidential Candidate on Break From Union

OW1612174891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vyacheslav Chornovil, chairman of the Lvov region council and one of presidential candidates, called his republic's joining the Commonwealth of Independent States a "serious step to break from the Union."

He also expressed hope that even one of the Baltic states would join the agreement on the Commonwealth. "It would emphasize the un-imperialist character of the Brest treaty, since Baltic independence is already a generally recognized fact," Chornovil said.

President Holds Council With Military Leaders

LD1612162891 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] On 12 December, Ukrainian President Kravchuk held a council with commanders of military districts, the Navy, and formations deployed on the territory of the Ukraine. Issues such as building the national armed forces in accordance with laws adopted by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet were discussed.

Leader's Claim Over Forces Seen as 'Dangerous'

PM1612113791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 91 p 2

[A. Krayniy report: "Any President Who Does Not Have the Ambition To Be Commander in Chief Is a Bad President"]

[Text] There would have been a calm response to the announcement that Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has become commander in chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces had these Armed Forces not incorporated the Kiev, Odessa, and Carpathian Military Districts and the Black Sea Fleet. Forgive me, but the stipulation that the Ukrainian Army does not include the strategic deterrent forces is unconvincing, if only because it is virtually impossible to draw a line in the fleet between a minesweeper and a missile cruiser—it is all one system.

It seems that the commonwealth treaty has not even lasted a few days without producing a few rifts, but the one over the Army is the number one priority. Addressing Soviet Army command personnel, Boris Yeltsin assured military chiefs that the Armed Forces will remain unified—yet suddenly there is this embarrassing situation. Kravchuk hardly consulted Yeltsin on this and almost certainly said nothing to Marshal Shaposhnikov.

A dangerous precedent has been set. Hitherto the leaders' speeches only said that the Army should leave or Army property, including combat hardware and weapons, should be handed over. Now soldiers and officers are starting to be shared out. If the Kiev Military District commander was correct, answering Gorbachev's question, in saying that 80 percent of the district's officers are Russians, the Ukraine will get a fraternal Russian army rather than its own army.

Here is the opinion voiced by Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister.

"I had a long talk today with Leonid Kravchuk and the Russian and Union presidents. We reached an agreement with Kravchuk, agreeing that the republic will not take hasty steps and that a mechanism must be formulated first for transferring the troops to Ukrainian jurisdiction. Total agreement was also reached on the question of the strategic deterrent forces—they were and remain under unified command."

Incidentally, I contacted the presidents of virtually all the other republics—none of them intends to take the Ukraine's chosen path.

I would also like to appeal to the troops and say: Despite the decrees and orders issued by all manner of chiefs, the Armed Forces come under the defense minister's jurisdiction. Attempts are being made to force us to choose between two presidents—the presidents of Russia and the Union.

Purge of 'Putschists' From Military Urged

AU1612145591 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian 17-24 Nov 91 p 5

[Interview with Ihor Derkach, Ukrainian people's deputy and member of the Commission for Questions of Defense and National Security, by Anatoliy Zubkov: "A Supporter of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, SCSE, in the Headquarters of the Ukrainian National Guard?"]

[Text] Even the very thought of this would seem absurd to the deputies of the Ukrainian parliament who recently unanimously voted for the creation of the National Guard. How can it be otherwise? The disgraceful failure of the putsch organized by the military and the Communist Party opened the eyes of many people to the realities of today's political life. For a conspirator to get to the leadership of a newly created army that is called upon to protect the independence of the Ukrainian State is as impossible as the camel passing through the eye of a needle....

However..., precisely such "camels" from the ranks of the ill-fated putschists are trying hard to push their way through to the command of the Ukrainian National Guard. This information sounded like thunder in the parliamentary Commission for Questions of Defense and State Security on the eve of the current intermission in the plenary meetings of the Supreme Council because of the forthcoming presidential elections and the referendum. Some particulars of the "parliamentary sensation" became known to our correspondent from Ihor Derkach, Ukrainian people's deputy and member of the Commission for Questions of Defense and National Security.

[Zubkov] One can hear different opinions among the deputies of the Supreme Council regarding the recent unscheduled trip made by members of your commission to one of the military units of the internal troops in Kiev. What was the reason for this seemingly unexpected "parliamentary inspection"?

[Derkach] The thing is that immediately following the approval by the Ukrainian Supreme Council of the resolution on the creation of the National Guard, dispatches and directives began to be sent in quick succession from Moscow to Kiev and to other places in which internal troops were stationed. The imperial bosses are doing their best to prevent the implementation of our parliament's resolution and to trample upon Ukrainian sovereignty. For example, it became known to us that the command of the USSR Armed Forces had proposed, in the tone of order, that a Kiev operations regiment transfer several armored personnel carriers to the Caucasus. Certainly, the Moscow generals did not ask either the government or the parliament of the Ukraine for permission to do this. You will say that this was a primitive and ungraceful provocation, something that the command of the internal troops was supposed to decisively reject. However, General Skrypnyk, the present acting commander of these troops, readily rushed to fulfill this illegal order that ignored our ban on taking out any military technology or property from the territory of the Ukraine. Soon after, an order was sent from Moscow for the leadership of the Armed Forces in Kiev not to obey the Ukrainian Supreme Council's decisions regarding the formation of the National Guard, but to continue to be under the command of General Savvin, USSR Armed Forces commander.

Then, things became even more fascinating—members of our commission found out from patriotically minded officers that the leadership of the Armed Forces in the Ukraine that still occupies its posts actually gave support to the SCSE on the days of the coup. In order to check these facts, a group of deputies went to the operations regiment of the internal troops that is stationed in Kiev's Podolskyy district.

[Zubkov] What were the results of the inspection?

[Derkach] We managed to find a cipher telegram that the prudent generals managed to destroy but officers supporting democratic transformations and the Act of Ukrainian Independence have kept. It follows from the telegram that even before the USSR minister of internal affairs Pugo dispatched his order to the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs and to the Armed Forces Directorate dealing with the Ukraine and Moldova, General Skrypnyk and other high officers from his encirclement had already supported the SCSE and given corresponding orders to all the subunits under their command. For example, there are clauses in their orders on the need to bring the military personnel, equipment, and weapons to combat readiness and to fulfill the orders of the "Soviet leadership...." The opening words of the cipher telegram are these: "Fulfilling the decisions of the SCSE and of the Soviet leadership...." This means that those people who are presently in charge of the internal troops in the Ukraine did not simply fulfill orders but were themselves initiators of the support for the SCSE and of the attempts to crush Ukrainian sovereignty....

[Zubkov] However, despite all the attempts by the Moscow imperialists and "our" local SCSE supporters, the Ukrainian National Guard is being formed. The commander, Colonel Kukharets, has been appointed, and work is under way on the organization of the first units of the National Guard....

[Derkach] Thank God, there are quite a few patriotically minded officers. They will, undoubtedly, become a core of future guard units. However, along with them, that same General Skrypnyk was recommended "from above" for the post of first deputy commander of the National Guard. It is only now that we managed to find out the whole truth about him. Needless to say how much indignation this evoked in our parliament's Commission for Questions of Defense and State Security! We were simply in shock! The formation of the guard's command is now under way, and here you are—SCSE supporters among the top brass are proposed for leading posts!...

Incidentally, General Skrypnyk continues to disseminate his pro-Moscow policy within the Armed Forces. He is trying to oust the already appointed commander Colonel Kukharets from the leadership and is showing a negative attitude toward those officers that our commission is proposing for the National Guard. In other words, he is engaged in the direct sabotage of the Supreme Council's resolutions with regard to the creation of the National Guard.

[Zubkov] What will be the approach toward the formation of the National Guard's command?

[Derkach] We must remove from their posts those generals that, like Skrypnyk, Markov, and others, have stained themselves by the cooperation with the SCSE. If the Ukraine's Procuracy undertakes to investigate this case, they must be made answerable to the court. It is out of the question to have SCSE supporters in the composition of our national Guard, because these people may do much harm to the Ukraine.

It may be expected, after purging the high-ranking generals within the Armed Forces, that the national armed formations will serve the interests of the independent Ukrainian State and the interests of democracy and that they will defend our people. So far, the orientation toward Moscow and the procommunist "maneuvers" are so strong and so conspiratorial among the high command of the Armed Forces that this may have very negative consequences.

Generally speaking, the situation within the army is becoming complicated. The top brass in Moscow, including the USSR Minister of Defense Shaposhnikov and the chief of the Soviet General Staff Lobov are openly aggravating the situation. Take, for example, the provocative military maneuvers that the leaders of the imperial army suddenly decided to conduct in the Ukraine! In accordance with their plans, between 11 and 28 November, military maneuvers and brandishing of weapons will take place precisely in our independent republic! Nobody from among the Moscow high-ranking military officials asked the permission of our government, our parliament, or our people. This is obviously blatant interference into the affairs of a sovereign state and an attempt to cynically trample upon our independence! Strictly speaking, the "maneuvers" that follow the scenario of the known Baltic events, in accordance with the plans of the leaders of the perishing empire, are expected to frighten the people of the Ukraine on the eve of the referendum and to force them, under the threat of the guns installed on tanks to take upon themselves the hated Union yoke again. Such generals as Skrypnyk may play the role of the "fifth column," unless preventive measures are taken in time.

However, this confrontation is temporary. A situation in which troops stationed on the territory of the Ukraine are under the command of a foreign center cannot be a lasting one. That is why, in my opinion, the parliament and the government of the Ukraine must complete, as soon as possible, the creation of our own national Guard and our own professional Armed Forces that will be able to reliably defend our sovereignty. The former SCSE supporters and empire's helpers should not remain in the ranks of the Ukrainian State's defenders.

Prime Minister's Office on Moscow Food Aid

LD1512222591 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 14 Dec 91

[Statement from the press service of Ukraine prime minister—read by announcer]

[Text] In connection with the critical situation in providing Moscow with foodstuffs, USSR President Gorbachev and Russian President Yeltsin appealed to leaders of four republics, including Ukraine, to dispatch foodstuffs to Moscow as part of the planned interrepublican deliveries. On 9 December, after a news conference by Ukrainian President Kravchuk, information was presented to correspondents present on the state of the Ukraine's fulfillment of food deliveries to Russia and, particularly, to Moscow, in accordance with the bilateral economic treaty between the republics for the current year.

However, in a number of reports prepared on the basis of the mentioned materials, in particular in IZVESTIYA and the "Ranok" television program of 10 December, with reference to the INTERFAX agency, the information was presented in such a way as to make it seem that the Ukraine dispatches additional foodstuffs to Moscow. This raised negative reaction among people's deputies at yesterday's sitting of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet session. In reality, however, even taking into account the planned December deliveries of meat and meat products, sugar, and sunflower oil, Ukraine's obligations will be far from totally fulfilled; for instance, 22,000 tonnes of meat and meat products, 691,500 tonnes of sugar, and 78,400 tonnes of sunflower oil will remain undelivered to Russia. Such considerable differences in deliveries is caused by the decreasing production of the indicated products in the Ukraine and their top priority deliveries to secure the needs of the Ukrainian people.

What is hidden behind such manipulations with figures and the blatant distortion of facts? In addition, the INTERFAX correspondent refers to the press service of

the Ukrainian prime minister, which has nothing to do with spreading the corresponding information, and expresses resolute protest in this connection. The question arises: Who benefits from disseminating individual facts, taken out of context, without the proper commentary, moreover when relations between the two countries, whose leaders signed the agreement on cooperation several days ago, are being discussed?

Former Leaders Charged With Chernobyl 'Crime'

PM1712130791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Gorenko report under "Direct Line" rubric: "The Truth About Chernobyl?"]

[Text] A report on the causes of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] catastrophe has been heard at a session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. The latest political assessment of the tragedy and its consequences was given.

Deputy V. Yavorivskiy, speaking on behalf of the parliamentary standing commission on the accident, of which he is chairman, stated that a "crime verging on genocide against one's own people" had been committed. The commission considers that the former leaders of the republic were directly culpable for covering up the truth about the dangerous consequences of the accident for millions of people. A petition was sent to the Ukrainian Prosecutor's Office for criminal proceedings to be instituted against V. Shcherbitskiy (posthumously), V. Shevchenko, A. Lyashko, and other officials. It was stated that Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk also "bears partial responsibility."

The commission described the instructions received from the central structures—to which the Chernobyl AES was subordinate—during the most dangerous period for people's health as a collective [gruppovoy] crime.

Assessing servicemen's participation in clearing up the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, the commission stated on the basis of experts' conclusions that, in their opinion, at least 30 percent of the work of those engaged in the cleanup operation was pointless and to no avail.

Chernobyl Duty Officer Denies Accident Rumors

LD1712142691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] A Chernobyl nuclear electric power station duty officer has denied rumors spreading in Kiev that an accident took place 15 December at power unit one. According to him, a cartridge became stuck while loading used fuel into a nuclear waste container. The problem was quickly solved. The duty officer insisted this had nothing to do with the operation of the nuclear station, and posed no danger for those working there.

Minister Notes Trade, Relations With Hungary

AU1612183591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Dec 91 p 11

[Interview with Valeriy Kravchenko, minister of foreign economic relations of the Ukraine, by Zoltan Muzslai; in Budapest, date not given: "The Ukraine Is Reducing Its Dependence on Moscow"]

[Text] Valeriy Kravchenko is in Budapest on a semi-official visit until 15 December. He already held talks with Lajos Berenyi, deputy state secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, and he will also meet with Foreign Economic Minister Bela Kadar in the coming days. The real reason for his visit is the symposium organized by Ergonet Ltd. where he was asked to give a lecture.

[Kravchenko] My visit is indeed a semi-official one because the organizers asked me to lecture on "New Roads in Hungarian-Ukrainian Relations." In the meantime, I have had the opportunity to meet Hungarian officials. I am convinced that our bilateral relations are important not only for the Ukraine but Hungary as well.

[Muzslai] How significant a partner is Hungary for the Ukraine, and how will relations expand once the Ukraine becomes independent? Will you concentrate further cooperation on a government level or on the enterprise level?

[Kravchenko] At our meeting with Lajos Bereny we agreed that we can only cooperate in areas in which the Ukraine is sufficiently strong. It is well known that various raw materials, including iron ore, make up 90 percent of our exports. Our short-term goal is to improve our export structure and increasingly include semi-finished products and finished products among our exports. As for possible imports from Hungary, we would be interested in pharmaceuticals, foodstuffs, including meat, and clothing.

We are aware that presently Hungary's economic position is far better than that of the Ukraine. This is due to greater economic liberalization in Hungary, while, as a result of Soviet hegemony and the central leadership in Moscow, the Ukraine was in something approaching colonial status. Among other things, the recent referendum on our independence was successful precisely because of this.

[Muzslai] What new type of economic policy does the Ukraine want to develop? How do you envisage the new economic management? To what extent can you abandon the planned economy? What will industrial management be like? What will be the role of the enterprise initiatives?

[Kravchenko] Our country has been considering the development of a new economic policy for years. We are also striving to provide independent trade rights, and we are seeing results already. It is slowly becoming natural for a commercial middleman to receive a commission.

[Muzslai] How will you carry out privatization? How much time will you allocate for this?

[Kravchenko] It is impossible to force privatization on the people, even if they have and will continue to have the right to purchase various enterprises and agricultural land, either individually or in groups. I would not engage in predictions about the duration of this process, because privatization is not the same as the collectivization carried out at the time, something that had to be finished at a given time. I would like to point out that out of the 10,000 firms exporting their products, 2,500 can now carry out independent foreign trade.

[Muzslai] Given the multitudinous bonds connecting you with the center, it is obviously impossible to avoid conducting the bulk of your trade with the former Soviet republics. What other countries could be important partners? Will you try to minimize your dependence on Russia?

[Kravchenko] Of course, the Ukraine will not give up its contacts with the the former Soviet republics. At the same time, we are disturbed by our excessive dependence on Russian energy. We will try to remedy this through alternative sources. Besides, we have signed agreements on balanced trade in clearing accounts with most of the republics, agreements guaranteed by the respective governments. At present, almost one-tenth of our exports are directed to Hungary, and it is only natural that we would like to further strengthen these contacts. The same applies to countries west of Hungary.

[Muzslai] Your inability to pay has caused a lot of problems in Hungarian-Soviet relations. To what extent will Kiev be more solvent than Moscow? Do you envisage future exports on the basis of indicative lists, barter trade, or cash payments?

[Kravchenko] Moscow no longer represents a center of payments either. We prefer payments in convertible currency, and naturally we are also working with indicative lists. We do not see any economic value in barter trade. Naturally, we will try to find the best mode of payment for every situation. Neither Hungary nor the Western countries will have to fear discrimination.

Armenia

President Declares State of Emergency in South

NC1612193691 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By Mavr Danielyan from the Armenian Supreme Soviet session in Yerevan on 16 December—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Danielyan] [passage omitted] President Levon Ter-Petrosyan addressed the session.

[Ter-Petrosyan] [words indistinct] The situation is very tense in Megrinskiy Rayon again. [words indistinct] in the last months. Through our efforts we have somewhat resolved our problems with Nakhichevan and the railway issue. However, forces are again trying to undermine our efforts. Just as happened a few days ago, today a passenger train going to Nakhichevan has been stopped in Megrinskiy Rayon and (?seven) of the passengers have been taken hostage. You realize the consequences of this act. [word indistinct] in response the railway has again been cut off at a time when we receive no (?gas) and our only lifeline passes through Nakhichevan. The Georgian railway is overloaded. You can imagine the situation we would face.

This state of affairs is unacceptable. We have to establish law and order in Megrinskiy Rayon [words indistinct]. In this connection, I am declaring a state of emergency in Megrinskiy Rayon. In line with the standing orders of the parliament, the parliament must confirm or reject my decree within 48 hours by I could have (?enforced it) before any consultation and wait for the parliament's decision. [sentence as heard] However, since the situation is extremely tense in Megrinskiy Rayon, [words indistinct]. I now want to read this decree:

With the intention to consolidate the public order in Megrinskiy Rayon and to ensure the normal working of the railway, it is hereby decided in accordance with the Point 15 of Article 8 of the Law on the President of the Armenian Republic:

1. To declare a state of emergency in Megrinskiy Rayon for three months by establishing a curfew between 2200 to 0600;

2. To appoint Andranik Grigorovich Kocharyan, the deputy defense minister of the Armenian Republic, as the military commandant of the state of emergency region;

3. To allow the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Armenian Republic to put the decree into force.

4. The said decree goes into force after confirmation by the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet.

[Words indistinct] agreement was reached between Armenia and Nakhichevan at the talks in the last few months that if hostages are taken they should be unilaterally handed over to the other side. [words indistinct] To some degree this agreement is being respected by both sides. The three hostages Azerbaijan took have nothing to do with Nakhichevan. According to the latest information, these hostages are being kept in Lachinskiy Rayon and [words indistinct] I have spoken with Mutalibov and he promised that he would do everything possible to secure their return. This is the situation [words indistinct].

[Danielyan] The deputies voted to confirm the president's decree. [passage omitted]

Nine Hostages Remain on Captured Train

OW1712125191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1203 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Of the 107 passengers in the Baku-Sharur train the Armenians had blocked the passage of in Armenia's Megri district on December 16, nine continue to be held hostage. The rest were released Monday [16 December] evening.

Armenia's Interior Minister Valeri Pogosyan described the kidnapping as "irresponsible steps of irresponsible persons." In his words, Armenian railroad workers were taken hostage in the city of Nakhichevan in retaliation.

Given the energy crunch, serious measures are in order to prevent irresponsible steps capable of worsening the situation and leading to fatal consequences, emphasized Mr. Pogosyan. He said that the republican Defense Minister Vazgen Sarkisyan was in the Megri district.

Armenia's Supreme Soviet endorsed Monday the presidential decree proclaiming the Megri district under a state of emergency and introducing a curfew.

Foreign Minister Leaves for Romanian Visit

Stops in Moscow

NC1612211291 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1600 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] On his way to an official visit to Romania, Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Hovhannesyan met Russian Republic Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in Moscow on 15 December.

The Armenian Foreign Ministry told ARMENPRES' correspondent that their businesslike conversation touched on Armenian-Russian relations and prospects for future cooperation.

Touching on the priorities of political cooperation, the ministers stressed the need to recognize each other as political entities and establish diplomatic relations.

The Russian Foreign Ministry has noted with satisfaction the Armenian leadership statement following the [word indistinct] establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

(?During the meeting) it was also noted that the end of the Soviet empire would help develop democracy, independence [words indistinct]. They (?specifically) discussed establishing peace in the Transcaucasia, developments in Nagorno-Karabakh, and the need for international forces to be present, ensuring the Armenian population's security.

After meeting Kozyrev, Raffi Hovhannesyan declared that relations with Russia are an Armenian priority.

Raffi Hovhannesyan noted that the sides discussed the prospects for developing relations between the two countries in various spheres, relations to which Armenia aspires. The agreement signed on 8 December by the leaders of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus on a Commonwealth of Independent States is regarded in Armenia as historic. The commonwealth issue is being carefully assessed in Armenia and the dialogue with Russia will continue, Hovhannesyan declared.

Diplomatic Relations Planned

LD1612190891 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By correspondent Dmitriy Dyakov]

[Text] Bucharest December 16 TASS—Armenia and Romania plan to establish diplomatic relations, close economic, political and cultural ties, Raffi Hovhannesyan, Armenia's foreign minister who arrived today in Bucharest on a two-day visit, told TASS.

Romania is the first East European country which recognized Armenia's independence and seeks to establish business contacts with this Transcaucasian Republic.

Germany To Exchange Permanent Representations

OW1712003191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Armenian parliamentary delegation returned to Yerevan from Germany December 15th.

As Ovanes Igityan, member of the parliamentary commission on foreign relations, told IF [INTERFAX], the two sides had agreed to exchange permanent representations. A preliminary agreement was reached to educate Armenian specialists in Germany at its expense in 1992.

Azerbaijan

President Says Republic May Join Commonwealth

OW1712164391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azerbaijan's President Ayaz Mutalibov received Tuesday [17 December] Cyprus's Moscow ambassador Kharalambos Khristoforou in Baku and told him that Azerbaijan was ready to build relations with all countries on the basis of equality, cooperation, and mutual respect in line with international law and UN norms.

He also praised the idea of establishing a Commonwealth of Independent States that would guarantee equal rights and equitable status to each of the members. According to him, Azerbaijan may join the entity as a co-founder.

The ambassador of Cyprus expressed the hope for further develcpment of bilateral economic ties and collaboration between Azerbaijan and Cyprus.

President Takes Control of Armed Forces

LD1712095591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0732 GMT 17 Dec 91

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 17 Dec (TASS)—Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov has announced that he is assuming the duties of commander in chief of all the armed forces located on the territory of the republic with the exception of troops comprising the strategic deterrence forces. This announcement is published in the Baku newspapers today.

By the relevant decrees of the president of this republic, a committee for the protection of the state border of Azerbaijan has been set up and its head has been appointed. In addition, the Cabinet of Ministers has been instructed to draw up measures aimed at ensuring the rights and social protection of servicemen, military formations, and units which transferred to the jurisdiction of the head of the sovereign republic.

It has already been reported that a law on the republican armed forces was adopted in Azerbaijan, the Ministry of Defense was set up, and a call-up for active military service was declared.

'Guerrillas' Release Railway Workers

LD1712092991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] Our Baku correspondent Azer Khalilov reports on the fate of the Nakhichevan railway workers who were kidnapped:

[Khalilov] The information from the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet press center made us shudder yet again at the cruel treatment of captives. Reports say 12 railroad employees at the Nakhichevan branch of the Azerbaijan railroad network, kidnapped 10 days ago by guerrillas, were released on 16 December. They were first kept in Yerevan and then in Kafan. The railroad employees said they were severely beaten and subjected to unbearable tortures.

The press center of the Supreme Soviet of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic reports that all Azerbaijani railroad workers are being treated in [word indistinct] rayon hospital.

9 Killed, 16 Wounded in NKAO Violence

LD1612193291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1720 GMT 16 Dec 91

[By correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Dec (TASS)—At least nine people have been killed and 16 people wounded in the past 24 hours in armed clashes in Nagorno-Karabakh. There is much destruction.

According to the commandant's office of the emergency situation region and the Karabakh News Agency (KNA), the internal troops servicemen took an active part in eliminating the firing points which subjected settlements and positions of military sub-units to missile and submachine-gun attacks.

The administration and population of Nagorno-Karabakh are concerned with reports on the possibility of internal troops withdrawing from the region.

Recent Battles Noted

NC1712163591 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] Yerevan, 17 Dec (ARMENPRES)—YERKIR newspaper reports that as of 16 December, the village of Dzhamillu, where more than 600 Azerbaijanis used to live, has ceased to exist.

Askeran is now the main Azerbaijani target. Scores of missiles and grenades were fired on this town from Khodzhali and Agdam.

Stepanakert came under missile and artillery fire from Shusha. An Armenian counter operation silenced the enemy and caused material damage. One of the electricity towers of the Shusha power station was destroyed, leaving Shusha without electricity. In retaliation, the Azerbaijanis switched off Stepanakert's power from the Agdam substation.

Four Armenians were injured near Noragyukh following an attack by an OMON [special purpose militia detachment] unit.

Flour has been brought to Stepanakert in military helicopters. Some 20 tonnes of flour is needed each day to meet the needs of the city residents.

Combat operations are continuing in Martuninskiy Rayon. The Armenian village of Avdur came under missile attack from Gyulably in Agdamskiy Rayon at 2230 on 15 December. The village was slightly damaged.

Council Issues Appeal

PM1712115591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 91 pp 1, 2

[Correspondent Zaur Kadymbekov report under the "From Hot Spots" rubric: "To Avoid Nightmare of War"]

[Text] Baku—One more attempt has been made to settle the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh by political means. The National Council of the Azerbaijan Republic Parliament has published an appeal to its population.

The conflict cannot be allowed to escalate into a large-scale war between Azerbaijan and Armenia, the document states. It is hard to believe that the confrontation inspired by adventurers and political intriguers can accord with the interests of ordinary people. The history of relations between the two peoples has had sad pages, when at the start of the century they were skillfully set against each other for the purposes of an imperial policy. So, will past experience really not precipitate wisdom in new generations?

The territory of the former autonomy, the appeal emphasizes, has essentially been turned into a bridgehead to wage war against the Azeri people, who are threatened with expulsion from their own land. Unlawful acts are being undertaken one after another, and elections and referendums are held which do not have legal force. In these conditions the Azerbaijan Republic has been forced to take measures directed against the dismemberment of its territory: The NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] has been abolished by decision of its parliament.

However, Azerbaijan does not absolve itself of responsibility for ensuring the safety of the Armenian population of Karabakh and observing its civil rights and national-cultural needs on condition that all the republic's laws and its Constitution are recognized. For this it is necessary to pool efforts to bring back peace to this land, to drive out armed formations, and to restore legality and law and order.

The press service of the president of the Azerbaijan Republic has disseminated an official statement addressed to foreign and central mass media. It points out that on 26 November this year the republic Supreme Soviet adopted a decision to abolish the NKAO's status. Expressing respect for all mass media, the statement reads, we hope that the NKAO will henceforth be called the Nagornyy part of Karabakh, just as Stepanakert will be known by its original name of Khankendi.

Elections To Be Held on 27 Dec

NC1512161691 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 14 Dec 91

[Text] The final results of the referendum on Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's independence have been assessed. Taking part were adults registered in Nagorno-Karabakh by 1989.

Those registered in Nagorno-Karabakh but who are now in Armenia also took part, all voting for independence.

Yuriy Ovanesyan, chairman of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh] Compatriotic Union, told a newspaper correspondent: The referendum result was clear from the start, with one objective, providing a legal foundation for the status of Nagorno-Karabakh. The next objective would be to set up power organs, non-existent in Nagorno-Karabakh, then to form a government, for which elections will be held on 27 December. It is also important that the international community recognize Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent legal entity, Ovanesyan said.

Pakistan Recognizes Republic's Independence

NC1612191491 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0300 GMT 14 Dec 91

[Text] According to reports from Islamabad, Pakistan has recognized the Azerbaijan Republic. This was officially disclosed by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, flying home from the Islamic Conference Organization summit in Dakar. He said that the step will further strengthen Islamic unity.

Prime Minister Sharif noted that recognition of Azerbaijan will not affect Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union, with which Pakistan will continue to maintain friendly relations.

Committee for Safeguarding Borders Established

NC1712154191 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Decree issued by Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov establishing the Committee for Safeguarding Azerbaijan's State Borders, in Baku on 16 December 1991—read by announcer]

[Text] In order to safeguard Azerbaijan's territory and state borders, I have made the following decisions:

1. To establish the Committee for Safeguarding Azerbaijan's State Borders;

2. To give the Committee for Safeguarding Azerbaijan's State Borders the responsibility of administering the border guards deployed within the Azerbaijani territory;

3. To appoint Iskender Imamverdi Ogly Allakhverdiyev as head of the Committee for Safeguarding Azerbaijan's State Borders;

4. To inform Iskender Allakhverdiyev to draw up and submit draft rules and regulations of the Committee for Safeguarding Azerbaijan's State Borders within 30 days.

[Signed] Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Republic

Baku City, 16 December 1991

Georgia

'Concern,' 'Surprise' Over Baker's Remarks

LD1712094991 Moscow TASS in English 0940 GMT 17 Dec 91

[By Georgian National News Agency correspondent Eduard Ediberidze]

[Text] Tbilisi December 17 TASS—Georgia expressed "concern and surprise" at U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, calling it an authoritarian regime. The republican Foreign Ministry said in a statement today "the U.S. Administration ignores realities and resorts to economic and political pressure in its relations with the republic. This policy resembles the well-known line pursued by the (Soviet) imperial centre".

Baker spoke of Georgia as a country with authoritarian regime in his December 12 speech in Princeton University.

The republican Foreign Minister invited Baker to visit Georgia to clear up and discuss all problems and to work out a programme of cooperation.

Baker is now heading for the Soviet Central Asian republic of Kyrgyzstan. He plans to visit Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus.

Rally Supports Jailed Opposition Leader

LD1612184091

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1600 GMT on 16 December carries a three-minute report by correspondent Zurab Dvali from Tbilisi. After being asked to report on the situation in South Ossetia, he states: "I would not like to touch upon the subject of that problem since the attention of the Georgian public is concentrated on the fate of Georgiy Chanturia, the leader of the National Democratic Party of Georgia. Today, an opposition rally was held in Tbilisi's Square of the Republic at 1600. Representatives of different political organizations opposed to the course being pursued by the leadership of Georgia took part, and Irina Starishvili, the press secretary of the National Democratic Party and wife of Georgiy Khachaturia, gave a speech at the rally. She spoke about the upheavals surrounding the trial of Georgiy, and in particular, recounted that today Georgiy Chanturia refused to leave his cell in the State Security Committee prison because he thought there was a danger that he would again be transferred to Ortochanskaya prison.

"Later, a group of representatives of the National Democratic Party of Georgia left for talks with representatives of the republic's procuracy, who stated that they have information about an attack that is being prepared for the purposes of freeing Georgiy Chanturia. This was stated today at the trial."

Dvali further recounts that Starishvili warned students about possible repressive measures to be taken against them by the government for holding rallies in support of democracy. The students intend to coordinate their actions in a league.

Dvali continues: "Former prime minister Tengiz Sigua also spoke at the opposition rally. He stated that James Baker's utterances at Bristol University on the totalitarian regime in Georgia are the start of the republic's isolation from civilized society. Tengiz Sigua also stated that on 18 August, Murman Omanidze, the minister of foreign affairs, was in Moscow, where he made use of a car from the firm Marco Polo, in which he went to a business meeting in the Kremlin, which indirectly, in Sigua's opinion, confirms the participation of Georgia's government in the August putsch.

"These are the most interesting moments at today's opposition rally, which was attended by approximately 5,000 people. That is all for today. Zurab Dvali, IPRINDA news agency, specially for Mayak news."

Supreme Soviet Questions Army's Presence

OW1612125591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1127 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In view of the signing of the treaty on the Commonwealth of Independent States which actually dismantled the USSR, it's hard to understand the status of Soviet army units stationed in Georgia, declared the presidium of Georgia's parliament.

In an appeal to the personnel and commanders of army units stationed in Georgia, the presidium points out that under the circumstances the servicemen have ways out: either to return home or to place themselves under Georgia's jurisdiction and "use their skills and experience for the benefit of Georgia."

In the meantime Georgia's President Zviad Gamsakhurdia expressed concern in connection with armed attacks on servicemen in Georgia "which have resulted in killing innocent people." He must have meant the murder of Major Berilov on November 27 during a raid on a facility for repairing army vehicles in Tbilisi.

In his televised address on Saturday [14 December] the president said "whoever did this are Georgia's enemies, since confrontation with the military might lead to a national catastrophe."

Signing of Black Sea Fleet Agreement Delayed

PM1712105191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 91 First Edition p 2

[Captain Second Rank V. Pasyakin report under the "Panorama of Events Around the Country" rubric: "Anxious Nights in Poti. Agreement Between Black Sea Fleet and Georgian Defense Ministry Not Yet Signed"]

[Text] We have already reported on the difficult position in which sailors in Poti have found themselves following Z. Gamsakhurdia's recent announcement about the nationalization of Navy and Border Guard Troops units stationed in Georgia. Concerned over the prevailing situation, the commander of the Black Sea Fleet visited Tbilisi, where he met the president of the Georgian Republic. Major General D. Pirtskhalaishvili, Georgian minister of defense, and Captain First Rank (Retired) A. Dzhavakhishvili, commander in chief of the Georgian Navy, also took part in the conversation.

President Gamsakhurdia was briefed on the statement by the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet Military Council, which, in particular, pointed out that incidents of physical and moral abuse of servicemen, threats to them and their families, and thefts of military property have become more frequent of late. The situation became even worse following the well-known decree on the nationalization of the military equipment and property of units located on Georgian territory. Admiral I. Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, cited specific examples of outrages against sailors and expressed confidence that the necessary measures will be taken against the forces provoking instability and unhealthy relations. With the aim of stabilizing the situation, the fleet commander proposed bringing a naval infantry battalion and additional fleet forces into Poti.

The Georgian side, while recognizing the fleet delegation's reproaches as fair, requested that additional forces not be brought in. Moreover, Gamsakhurdia gave his assurance that only thugs are going on the rampage, and there is nothing to restrain them with; he asked for weapons from the fleet and promised to take measures to impose order.

The Georgian side was handed a draft agreement on the status of Black Sea units on the territory of the sovereign Republic of Georgia, which stated in particular that the withdrawal of fleet forces now is premature, because it could lead to the disturbance of the system for monitoring and providing navigational and hydrographic support for the safety of shipping for sovereign Georgia's ships and fleet units. Furthermore, the withdrawal of fleet forces without preparation will further aggravate the already complex problems concerning social conditions.

This agreement should have been signed by the Georgian defense minister and the commander of the Black Sea Fleet. But, according to a statement by Adm. Kasatonov, the Georgian side is still making amendments....

"There have been no attacks on depots in the last few days," I was informed by Captain First Rank A. Tsubin, commander of Poti Naval Garrison. "But the nights in Poti continue to be anxious. We are continuing to experience pressure and threats from the National Guard. In response we have temporarily stopped providing navigation for the port. Obviously, this has been felt by the Georgian side. But we are also ready for

constructive conversations. At the end of the day everything can be decided in a civilized fashion."

Shaposhnikov Protests Attacks on Servicemen

PM1612161591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[V. Litovkin report: "USSR Defense Minister's Protest to Georgian President"]

[Text] On the morning of 10 December in downtown Tbilisi, before the eyes of hundreds of passersby and a militia detachment, an armed attack was made on Aviation Major General V. Glebov, first deputy commander of the self-contained [otdelnaya] air defense army, who was returning to his headquarters by car.

The attackers—there were five of them—dragged the general and his soldier driver from the Volga, beat them up, tore their clothing, and then fled, seizing the car. The militia took no measures to prevent the overt and brazen brigandage, and none of the passersby took the servicemen's part.

IZVESTIYA has been informed that Lieutenant General Yu. Grekov, deputy commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, telephoned Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia, reported what had happened, and demanded that measures be taken to prevent similar actions. But Gamsakhurdia put all the blame on Kitovani's guardsmen and refused to intervene in conflicts between the military and local militarized formations.

The USSR defense minister has sent the Georgian president a letter. In it Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov voiced extreme concern at the failure of the republic's law enforcement organs and of the president personally to take measures against armed criminals who attack military installations and officials of the district and who seize armament and combat hardware. Such actions, the minister believes, provoke an escalation of tension in military units and among officers and dictate the need to take the most decisive measures envisaged by the law to protect military property and servicemen's honor and dignity.

The patience and restraint of officers and soldiers are not infinite, the marshal declared. New unlawful acts of violence against servicemen could have grave consequences and lead to bloodshed, for which the responsibility will lie entirely with the republic's leadership.

It remains to add that the attack on the general in downtown Tbilisi is by no means the only such occurrence of late. A week earlier the car of the Transcaucasus Military District's deputy commander was fired upon in the city. Fortunately, the general and the soldier were not hurt. IZVESTIYA has reported the killing of Major Vladimir Berilov before the eyes of his wife and four-year-old son. Unarmed, he was defending state property at a repair base against bandits. Several days ago Georgian gunmen seized 10 tanks being sent to Lvov to be destroyed in accordance with the Vienna agreements on the reduction of conventional arms, and they are now in a garage of the republic Council of Ministers....

It was declared at a district officers' meeting that weapons will be used against bandits.

Minister Expects More S. Ossetian 'Bloodshed'

LD1512110491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0953 GMT 14 Dec 91

[By special correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi, 14 Dec (TASS)—Tengiz Epitashvili, the Georgian president's special representative and Georgian deputy interior minister, has called on official representatives of Russia, international organizations, and journalists to visit South Ossetia and its vicinity to make an independent assessment of the situation in that region.

He told TASS today that the South Ossetian situation is extremely tense and that more bloodshed can be expected. He accused Ossetian extremists, who have sharply escalated their actions in recent days, of creating an explosive situation. In particular, they have completely blockaded Georgian settlements near Tskhinvali, thereby depriving them of the chance of even obtaining food. In addition, five residents of Georgian settlements were recently killed, and many were taken hostage.

The fact that USSR Internal Affairs Ministry troops have moved their posts several hundreds meters deep into Georgian territory without consulting the republican leadership and have set up border pillars carrying the "RSFSR" sign next to these posts with their patent encouragement is not helping to stabilize the South Ossetian situation, Tengiz Epitashvili thinks.

Tengiz Epitashvili described as false Russian mass media reports from Vladikavkaz saying that about 20,000 Georgian militants prepared to attack South Ossetia at any moment have been pooled around Tskhinvali.

'No Reassuring Changes' Noted

LD1512104791 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 15 Dec 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 15 TASS—There have been no reassuring changes in the critical situation in South Ossetia over the past 24 hours. According to the South Ossetian information committee, exchanges of fire continue on distant approaches to Tskhinvali and in Znauri District.

Georgian militants conducted aimed fire on the northern and southern residential areas of the city and vital facilities.

Missile and artillery bombardment was brought down again on the district centre of Znauri which is being defended by Ossetian self-defence teams. According to existing information, ten people were injured. The Ossetian side returned the fire to neutralise weapon emplacements.

The ring of transportation and food blockade is tightening around Tskhinvali. The main roads by which humanitarian aid supplies were brought to the besieged city have been cut off by militants. Trucks with food supplies are advancing with the aid of truck tractors through Zar village along the tortuous 30-kilometre mountain road.

The situation in Tskhinvali is also being aggravated by the fact that electricity, gas and heating have been cut off from residential areas. The city is encircled by Georgian military formations that are stationed in nearby villages. Militants have at their disposal armoured vehicles, small arms, artillery weapons and rocket launchers.

Disquieting reports continue to come in from remote Ossetian villages in Znauri and Tskhinvali Districts. Over the period of confrontation between the Georgian and Ossetian sides in South Ossetia, more than 400 Ossets were killed, about 500 wounded, hundreds of civilians were taken hostage, and Ossets have been driven away from 102 populated areas.

Turkey To Send Food Aid, To Grant Credit

OW1312074491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1710 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Food relief will soon come to Georgia from Turkey to the tune of $50mn [million] against the long-term credit of $400mn given to the republic. The information comes to INTERFAX from the Georgian government.

Besides, Turkey is ready to grant a credit of $1bn [billion] 200mn on condition it be used for reconstruction of productions. The loan is to be returned in 5-7 years by selling products of those enterprises on the world market. At present the sides are making a list of productions to be revamped.

Interregional Affairs

Further on Planned 17 Dec Ashkhabad Meeting

Deputy Heads To Meet

LD1712021991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2330 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] A conference of deputy heads of government of Central Asia and Kazakhstan begins in Ashkhabad on 17 December. It is to follow up on the accords reached at the Ashkhabad meeting of five [Central Asian] presidents. The representatives will be working on compiling an entire package of documents to coordinate an interstate economic policy. In particular they intend to sign an agreement on price policy to provide social protection for the people against negative consequences expected from price rises in other republics of the former union. To this end, it is intended to set up an interstate investment bank and to complete by 1 January 1992 the formation of an interstate committee to coordinate socioeconomic development in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Leaders Plan To Meet Yeltsin

OW1712095991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0823 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of 4 Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan are planning to meet with Boris Yeltsin one of these days to find out what kind of supreme body can be appointed to run the new commonwealth. The republican leaders believe Mr. Yeltsin may suggest holding monthly meetings of republican heads of state to coordinate joint policy making. That would be a kind of State Council but without a seat for the USSR President.

At the same time, the 5 republics would not like such meetings to be substituted for legislative power or tackle any issues beyond the economic sphere.

Before signing the Commonwealth Treaty the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan are expected to settle the problem of interrepublican management. One of Uzbekistan's senior officials, who asked not to be identified, noted that the Interstate Economic Council's disintegration might give rise to considerable problems, inasmuch as it would mean the end of economic coordination within the new Commonwealth. According to him, no system of bilateral treaties could work in that event, since each republic would have to set up bulky coordinating bodies of its own.

From all indications, the 5 republican leaders do not mean to "write off" Mikhail Gorbachev as a politician. In their view, he can help settle the likely intra-Commonwealth differences and even act as the Commonwealth spokesman in certain situations.

Kazakhstan

Supreme Soviet Proclaims Independence

Constitutional Law Viewed

LD1612230291 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2052 GMT 16 Dec 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Kazakhstan proclaimed its right to found republican armed forces and noted its devotedness to nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and disarmament. The constitutional law of Kazakhstan on the state independence of the Kazakhstan Republic endorsed by the republican Supreme Soviet on December 16 also reads: The Republic independently decides upon the order and terms of military service of its citizens, makes decisions on military troops, arms and technology located on its territory. The law points out: The Kazakhstan Republic is an independent democratic state ruled by law. It exercises sovereign power on its territory, independently creates and pursues its domestic and foreign policy....The Constitution and laws of the Kazakhstan Republic, as well as the international legal standards recognized by the Kazakhstan Republic, act on the whole of its territory. The territory of the Kazakhstan Republic within the existing borders is integrated, indivisible and inviolable. Citizens of the Republic regardless of their nationality, religious beliefs, membership in public associations, origin, social and property status, occupation and place of residence have equal rights and responsibilities, reads the law. The law stipulates that the Kazakhstan Republic undertakes measures to protect its independence and strengthen the national statehood. Any interference in the matters of inalienable right of the Republic will be regarded as infringement on the state independence of the Republic. According to the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakhstan Republic, the constitutional law gained legal force since the moment of its enacting.

Further on Independence

OW1712091691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0823 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [16 December], the Kazakh Supreme Soviet proclaimed Kazakhstan's independence.

According to the new constitutional law, Kazakhstan is now an independent, democratic and law-ruled state which enjoys full authority in its entire territory and pursues its domestic and foreign policy on its own. The borders of Kazakhstan have been proclaimed inviolable.

Kazakhstan's citizenship, goes the law, shall be enjoyed by people of all nationalities who have a common historical destiny with the Kazakh nation and who

constitute the indivisible people of Kazakhstan—the sole bearer of sovereignty and source of state authority in Kazakhstan.

In accordance with the law, all the Kazakhs living in other states shall have the right to Kazakh citizenship. Besides that, the individuals "who were made to leave the republic during the periods of massive reprisals, forced collectivization and other inhumane political actions, and who live in the former Union republics" shall have the opportunity to come back to their homeland.

The land, mineral resources, water, air, animal and plant life, other natural resources, as well as economic and technical potential have been proclaimed the exclusive property of the republic.

Kazakhstan has a state-run national bank and can create its own financial and credit systems, as well as a system of taxation and customs control. It can also shape its gold reserve, and diamond and hard-currency funds.

The republic will protect its independence and strengthen its state system. Any interference in the affairs within the republic's inalienable competence shall be viewed as an encroachment on its state independence.

In order to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity Kazakhstan has proclaimed the right to create its own armed forces. The republic shall establish the procedure of army service on its own, and independently decide where to locate troops, armaments and military equipment.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Warns Against Friction

OW1312051591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2027 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Serikbolsyn Abdildin has warned: "We should not permit any haggling to arise between Slavs and Muslims." He was speaking at a press conference in Alma-Ata Thursday [12 December]. In reply to a question by an INTERFAX correspondent about a possible Asian community within the Commonwealth of Independent States, he said "being neighbors, the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan can set up a community in any form, but we can all join the Slavic commonwealth when there is no more political strife in the world."

Nazarbayev Considers Joining Arab League

LD1312063691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev is going to send observers to the forthcoming conference of the league of Arab states to study the possibilities of entering the economic community of Arab nations. Kazakhstan's first contribution to this association could be the construction of a trans-Asian railroad connecting China with Iran.

Nursultan Nazarbayev announced the other day the Kazakh people had deep roots with both Turkic nationalities on the territory of the former Soviet Union and with Muslim countries.

Congress To Revive Communist Party Held

LD1512124291 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1050 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Excerpt] The congress reviving the Kazakh Communist Party has taken place. AZIA press agency cites Gennadiy (Kononov), member of the Alma-Ata Labor Movement Committee, who described the congress as contradictory. Only 11 percent of the delegates were blue-collar workers. When elections to the governing bodies took place, a decision was adopted to introduce not less than six workers—50 percent of the total Central Committee membership—into the Central Committee's composition. However, there are only three workers in the Central Committee and Central Control Commission respectively, and just one worker was included in the bureau's compostion. [passage omitted]

Muslims Hold Meeting, Call For 'Holy War'

OW1412095491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] About 50 members of the nationalist party "Alash" seized a mosque in Alma-Ata on Friday [13 December] and are holding captive Ratbek Nisynbai, the chairman of the organization for Mufti muslim spiritual guidance in Kazakhstan. The "Alash" party is accusing the mufti of cooperating with the KGB and demanding his resignation. The deputy chairman of the "Alash" party, Bulatbek Akhmet-Ali, told an "IF" [INTERFAX] correspondent that the party had irrefutable proof that Ratbek cooperated with the KGB.

At a meeting in an inner courtyard of the mosque about one thousand muslims voiced the demand to punish the Mufti by Islamic law and to start a holy war against disbelievers.

Groups Agree On 'Social Protection'

LD1412210191 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1439 GMT 13 Dec 91

[From the "Crime" section]

[Text] On December 9 an agreement to set up a coalition of social protection was signed in Alma-Ata. The document was signed by the Birlesu Independent Trade Union Center, Kazakhstan's Civil rights Movement AZAT, Social Democratic Party of Kazakhstan, Democratic Union, Kazakhstan's Party of Democratic

Progress and other parties and movements. They took commitments to work out joint social protection programs of the republic's population, to publicize and introduce a new form of social protection, to carry out coordinated policy pertaining to social protection issues in the republican parliament and government. Coalition participants adopted a joint declaration, which says that by virtue of objective and subjective circumstances the party and bureaucratic system of government and management has been freezed in the republic and that the system has no organized opposition so far. The opposition role in accordance with the statement, will be performed by the Coalition of Social Protection, which is a voluntary union of public organizations, deeming its purpose the elaboration of general policy of the republican population social protection under conditions of transition to the market economy and its joint implementation.

State Power Construction Corporation Set Up

LD1312102191 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0100 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] The Kazakhstan Cabinet of Ministers adopted a decision on setting up a state corporation called the Kazakh Power Engineering Construction and Assembly Corporation [Kazenergostroymontazh]. The need for this is dictated by the demands of republican sovereignty, one of which is the transfer to the jurisdiction of Kazakhstan of enterprises previously under Union authority.

The new structure comes under the framework of the newly developing market relations, presupposing the possibility of denationalization of the enterprises that are part of it and the implementation of a demonopolization policy in the construction of power engineering enterprises.

Taking into consideration the difficulties connected with power supply, the new state corporation will speed up the commissioning of huge power stations such as the South Kazakhstan state regional electric power station, Ekibastuz state regional electric power station-2, Karaganda thremal power station, and others. At the Ekibastuz state regional electric power station-2, which is under expansion, the first power unit is functioning. Yesterday its workers fulfilled their annual plan with 1.580 million kilowatt hours.

Current for industrial use is sent by high voltage lines to various economic regions of Kazakhstan and the Urals. In all, eight power units will be functioning there, with a total capacity of 4 million kilowatts. The ecology program envisages installing a more efficient system of smoke and gas purification.

Tajikistan

All-Union Communist Party Branch Established

OW1712000791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tajikistan has set up a branch organization of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks which has proclaimed it as its main task to "defend the gains of the 1917 October Revolution and safeguard the rights and lawful interests of the working class, peasants and all the other working people."